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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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24 May 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

USSR AMBASSADOR'S TREATY ANNIVERSARY SPEECH IN WARSAW

LD202042 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1455 GMT 20 Apr 85

[Speech by Aleksandr Aksenov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Poland, at the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw on the 40th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid between Poland and the USSR; in Russian with superimposed Polish translation--live]

[Text] Esteemed members of the political and state leadership of the Polish People's Republic! Dear comrades and friends! Esteemed assembly! On these spring days, the Soviet and Polish peoples ceremonially celebrate the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic. We will shortly be celebrating in all peace-loving nations of the world the 40th anniversary of the great victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism. The 40th anniversary of the victory and the 40th anniversary of our treaty: These two important anniversaries in the history of our states and peoples do not stand side by side with each other in time by accident. The brotherhood-in-arms of Soviet and Polish soldiers, born in the years of World War II (?confirmed) and won in that joint struggle and great victory over fascism, lay at the foundations of Soviet-Polish friendship. That friendship is eternal and immortal, just as both our peoples, their great deeds and achievements, are immortal.

The treaty signed in April 1945 signifies a fundamental turning-point in the mutual relations of our states and nations. Its signing gave expression to the wisdom of our nations and historic optimism. The treaty was signed primarily to protect our land, our nations and states from the danger of a new war; from attempts on their freedom and independence. Today, 40 years later, one can say with conviction that the treaty has fully stood the test; has proved its historic justification and unexhausted vital force. The treaty between our states, to whose implementation millions of Soviet and Polish citizens have contributed, has become a genuinely popular treaty: a powerful catalyst of fraternal friendship. The conclusion and then the successful implementation of this supremely important document for the working people of both our states was possible thanks to the ability to foresee and farsightedness of Soviet and Polish communists; to the inspiring and leading role of the CPSU and PZPR. It is to their immense credit that they were able, in such a short period of history, to strengthen and cement Soviet-Polish

relations and transform them into an important and irrevocable achievement of our peoples.

Permit me, dear friends, on behalf of the Soviet people, to greet warmly and sincerely the heroic inhabitants of Warsaw, all working people of the Polish People's Republic, in connection with the 40th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid between the Soviet Union and Poland, wishing them health, happiness and success in work for the benefit of your socialist homeland. [applause]

Permit me also to give warm thanks to the members of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo; the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, Comrade Zbigniew Messner, for the words of profound respect and fraternal friendship addressed to the Soviet people, its Communist Party, our socialist homeland.

Esteemed comrades! The past 40 years have been a period of dynamic development of broad and all-round cooperation between our states, covering the most important spheres of state and social life.

We have always been linked on this road by a shared Marxist-Leninist ideology, by socialist internationalism, and a unity of political goals. Today one is justified in stating that new prospects and opportunities for our cooperation are opening up. This is emphatically confirmed by the agreements concluded at the highest level, the implementation of which is deemed a top-priority task by the Soviet leadership. The long-term program for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation to the year 2000 signed in Moscow by the leaders of our parties inaugurates a qualitatively new phase. It renders it possible to make more effective use of the productive and intellectual potential possessed by our states, and jointly to increase the tempo of economic growth. The all-round pooling of efforts and potential, the further deepening of socialist economic integration, and the implementation of the strategic decisions taken at the economic summit of the CEMA states in Moscow, give all the fraternal states an opportunity to speed up their social and economic growth and guarantee that they will achieve world standards in science and technology.

Ideological, cultural, scientific, and educational contacts between the Soviet Union and Poland are getting deeper and more perfect from year to year. This facilitates the further closeness of our peoples and strengthening friendship and fraternity. Last year's Polish culture days in the Soviet Union ended in great success. Today, various events of the Soviet culture days are taking place throughout Poland. The Polish-Soviet [word indistinct] have bright and good prospects. I would like to assure you that all the working people of our socialist homeland, in accordance with the treaty on friendship between the Soviet Union and Poland, will continue to protect and strengthen the steadfast friendship between the Soviet and the Polish peoples. [applause]

Esteemed friends, the phenomena which at present characterize the life of the Soviet people are great social and political activeness and enormous creative enthusiasm evoked by the preparations for the 27th CPSU Central Committee

Congress. Our entire party, entire people resolutely supported the decision of the CPSU Central Committee extraordinary plenum in March this year to elect Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev--an outstanding party worker and statesman--to the post of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary. [applause] The plenum confirmed the invariability of the strategic line of the party to speed up the socioeconomic development of the country and to perfect all areas of life of the Soviet society. This line includes both transforming the material-technical production base and perfecting the system of social relations--especially, developing the human personality and qualitatively improving the conditions of material and spiritual life.

The CPSU Central Committee puts forward the further perfecting and development of democracy as one of its fundamental tasks. Our party consistently fights for increasing the role of the soviets, activization of the trade unions, the Komsomol, the people's control and all employees' collectives. Practical experiences of the CPSU have fully confirmed the Leninist thesis that the people's consciousness determines the state's strength. That is why the task of the further development of public initiative, of observance of law and order, and of strengthening party, state and labor discipline are at the center of the party's attention. Great creative work awaits our party and the Soviet people; work directed at the further development of our homeland and raising the level of the Soviet people's material and cultural life.

Esteemed comrades and friends, in our days, when the struggle for preventing the threat of nuclear war which hangs over mankind has become the most urgent task, the peaceful foreign policy actively conducted in the international arena by the Soviet Union, Poland and other socialist states plays a historic role. The Soviet Union's course in the field of foreign policy is clear and consistent, it is a course of peace and progress. Our party and the Soviet Government assign priority significance in international matters to this noble aim. The Soviet communists and the working people of the Soviet Union highly appraise the statement by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, that the unity of our Marxist-Leninist parties and close cooperation in all areas, including the priceless brotherhood-in-arms of our armies, are a great and unshaken base. [applause]

For four decades now the peoples of the states of the socialist community have been carrying on peaceful, creative work with unparalleled vigor. In this period they have created, for the first time in history, genuinely equal and just interstate relations. The community of socialist states is an alliance of faithful friends, with the same views, in which the dominant characteristics are respect and consideration given to mutual interests; a readiness to give help in need; close cooperation in the international arena. It is an alliance which promotes the well-being of each of the fraternal states, giving them additional strength to solve national tasks. At the same time, this alliance increases many times over the strength of world socialism; consolidates its standing and influence in the world.

The leaders of the fraternal parties and states, during the meeting in Moscow in March of this year, unanimously stressed that, in the conditions of the

complicated international situation, the strengthening of unity and cohesion; closer coordination of activity in the international arena, take on a special significance. In conditions where the imperialist, aggressive NATO bloc is still active, the peoples of our states still need a uniform, coordinated, peaceful foreign policy; a reliable shield for peaceful work. The realization of these noble goals is successfully served by the fraternal alliance of the socialist member-states of the Warsaw Pact, created 30 years ago in the capital of People's Poland, in response to the setting up of the aggressive military bloc, NATO. The entire postwar history confirms that the Warsaw Pact is an effective instrument for ensuring the security not only of the states which belong to it, but is also an important factor in preserving and consolidating peace in Europe and the whole world.

The peoples of the socialist states know well the price of peace. They know that one has to struggle against the war while it has not started. This is the main lesson coming from the great victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism; a lesson which has unceasing significance also in our days. The victory cost a lot. Behind it stands the heroism of millions of Soviet and Polish soldiers, partisans and resistance-movement members and the selflessness of the workers of the rear. The Soviet people (?brought) this victory (?closer) at the price of enormous losses. Twenty million Soviet citizens died in the struggle with fascism. Poland lost 6 million people in that war. A great contribution to the victory was made by the people of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, the antifascists of Europe, and the entire mankind paid for it the price of 50 million human lives. That is why the 40th anniversary of victory, which will be marked on 9 May by the peoples of our countries and the entire progressive humanity, has such deep sense and significance.

Of course, speaking of the lessons of World War II we also do not forget the anti-Nazi coalition which demonstrated the not insignificant possibilities of cooperation between states with different social systems in order to gain that victory. The experience of such cooperation is a significant political achievement. It is also topical today, as it could be used for preventing a missile-nuclear catastrophe. The basis of the Soviet Union's foreign policy today is the struggle against the imperialism-imposed arms race and for eliminating the threat of a world nuclear war. In connection with this, much hope is attached to the Soviet-American talks in Geneva. Progress therein depends first and foremost on whether both sides will consistently keep to the achieved agreement on the subject and aims of the talks in all its parts.

The idea is, then, to achieve effective solutions aimed at preventing an arms race in space and its cessation on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms; to strengthen strategic stability. Regarding the Soviet Union, it will continue to do everything to implement the above-mentioned agreement. Coming out firmly against turning the negotiations into a sort of screen to hide the forcing of the arms race, the Soviet Union, as is known, recently proposed that the Soviet Union and the United States introduce, for their entire duration, a moratorium on creating, including here scientific research, on testing and developing space attack weapons, that the sides freeze their strategic offensive weapons. At the same time, the deployment of American medium-range

missiles in Europe should be stopped and, correspondingly, the stepping-up of Soviet countermoves. Showing good will, the Soviet Union unilaterally introduced a moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and halted the implementation of other countermoves in Europe. The Soviet people received the declaration by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, that the Polish People's Republic fully supports the new Soviet initiative, with great satisfaction.

Concerning the current situation in Europe, one has to point out the increase in revanchist moods in the FRG, where forces which to this day have not relinquished hopes of a revision of the postwar territorial order, are raising their heads. The revanchists are nourished by encouraging pats on the back from official circles in the United States and some other Western states. The postwar order is the result of the great victory over fascism; the result of the agreed decisions and mutual obligations of the allies. Nobody can make an attack on the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, which have been the foundations of European and general peace for four decades. [applause]

Comrades, in the interests of peace on earth, in the interests of all of mankind, the socialist states are coming out with constructive initiatives and proposals aimed at halting the arms race and removing the threat of a world nuclear catastrophe. Our party and state, stressed Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, will continue to intensify their efforts in that direction and do everything to preserve peace. We assume that the right to live in conditions of peace and freedom is man's basic right.

Long live the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between the Soviet Union and Poland. [tumultuous applause]

Let the unbreakable Soviet-Polish friendship and the close joint action and fraternal cooperation between our countries and peoples continue to strengthen and flourish. [tumultuous applause]

Long live peace and socialism. [tumultuous applause]

CSO: 2600/762

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DAILY ON ALBANIA'S ISOLATION, ALIA SUCCESSION

AU301209 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 24 Apr 85 p 5

[Article by Boguslaw Jeznach: "Behind Closed Doors"]

[Excerpts] Albania slammed the door shut behind it 40 years ago. A carefully cultivated isolation is one of the basic conditions of the program of revolutionary transformations in customs and ways of thinking, a program of educating a new society. Prosperity is not to come until later. Albanians know nothing about trips abroad, foreign languages are not taught in schools, there is no foreign press, and the population does not encounter foreigners. The few foreigners who wish to "defect" to Albania are carefully dissuaded from this intention, and the many impetuous nationalists who fled here from the Yugoslav Kosovo have been handed back quite quickly.

One of the main reasons for this isolation is an obsessive concern for one's own political infallibility. Albania has few friends because, just like in the case of Albania's enemies, there is no mercy for them once they have betrayed common ideals. Therefore, Albania has separated itself from its consecutive allies Yugoslavia, the USSR, and China without remorse, and its representatives in the United Nations condemn anyone who departs from what in Tirana's view is the only correct path.

Since 1961, Albania has sought to be the "first atheist state in the world." In that year, 3,000 mosques and churches were closed. The Museum of Atheism in Shkoder alone boasts that 150 religious premises were abolished in its area. The Catholic clergy (about [figure illegible] percent of the total believers) and Orthodox clergy (about 20 percent) were eliminated. Islam, which possesses neither a clergy nor a rite, and to which about 70 percent of the population once belonged, still exists here and there. Journalists have seen men kneeling on prayer mats, and not only old men.

Religion has been replaced by fervent nationalism. For over 12 years, a euphoric pride in the independent achievements of the land of the Shqiptars has been growing, coupled with a faith in their future. Nationalism, or rather national socialism, extolled more and more clearly in Enver Hoxha's ideology, turned out to be an effective cement for the social consciousness of the Albanians, giving their system cohesion and energy. It also permitted a considerable acceleration of the already widespread acceptance of social changes among young people.

After the death of the 77-year-old "father of the nation," his younger comrades are assuming power. Ramiz Alia, the new head of party and state, is 59. A part of the Western press hopes that he will open the iron doors of isolation wider and let some somewhat alien air into Albania. It should be doubted whether the Albanians themselves want this. From the point of view of their avoidable experiment, this could be a premature move. For if doing so were to spoil and upset everything that has been built with such toil for 40 years, what other European nation could display similar achievements?

CSO: 2600/770

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COMMUNIQUE ON LENART FRG VISIT

AU301307 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Apr 85 pp 1, 5

["Communique on the Stay of a CPCZ Central Committee Delegation in the FRG"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Presidium of the German Communist Party (DKP) Executive, a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee paid a friendly visit to the FRG from 24 to 27 April 1985.

The delegation was led by Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. Its other members were Karel Kovar and Radoslav Klein, deputy heads of CPCZ Central Committee departments.

In the DKP Executive building at Duesseldorf, the Czechoslovak guests were received by DKP Chairman Herbert Mies. The meeting, which was held in a friendly atmosphere and in the course of which an extensive exchange of views took place, was further attended by Karl Heinz Schroeder, member of the Presidium and of the Secretariat of the DKP Executive; Gustav Trambowsky, member of the DKP Central Auditing Commission; and Heinz Wohler, member of the Plenum of the DKP Land Committee of North Rhineland-Westphalia and chairman of the DKP District Committee in Wuppertal.

Herbert Mies briefed his guests on the political situation in the FRG and on the tasks and goals of the DKP in preparing the party's Eighth Congress, which will be held in Hamburg at the beginning of May 1986. He stressed that the party directs its main attention to the efforts to stop the shift to the right, promote the struggle for peace, and defend the social and democratic rights of the working people of the FRG. Being a workers party, the DKP represents, in particular, the interests of working people who are affected by the crisis of capitalism, mass unemployment, and the "new poverty." In preparing its congress, the entire party exerts great efforts to further reinforce the DKP as the most important force of peace and social progress in the FRG.

Jozef Lenart spoke about the political and economic situation in the CSSR, about the results being achieved by the Czechoslovak people, under the CPCZ's leadership, in building a developed socialist society. He emphasized the wide-ranging initiative and work endeavor of CPCZ members and all working people in meeting the targets set by the 16th CPCZ Congress and, in particular, in fulfilling the tasks of the last year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. He dealt in

detail with the problems being solved by the CSSR in connection with the transition to an intensive path of national economic development and in connection with maintaining and improving the living standards for all working people. He also stressed the active role played by the CSSR in continuing the policy of detente, and its contribution to this policy, as well as its efforts to terminate the arms race and to bring about disarmament. He provided information on the peace-promoting activities of social organizations and on the broad-based peace movement of the Czechoslovak people.

The head of the CPCZ Central Committee delegation expressed great appreciation for the DKP's loyalty to proletarian internationalism and the tenets of Marxism-Leninism and for its creative application of these tenets under the present complicated conditions. Czechoslovak communists highly regard the DKP's tenacious struggle for the social and democratic rights of the working people of the FRG and its dedicated struggle for the preservation of peace and the promotion of friendly relations among peoples.

Herbert Mies emphasized the importance of the successes of the states of the socialist community for the struggle of the forces of peace and progress all over the world. These successes play a crucial role in the competition between socialism and capitalism.

In connection with the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and the liberation of the Czechoslovak, German, and other peoples, Jozef Lenart and Herbert Mies drew attention to the immense suffering caused by the imperialist policy of aggression. They voiced great appreciation for the selfless efforts of the Soviet Union, which shouldered the main burden, in crushing fascism and liberating Europe from the fascist yoke, as well as for the struggle of other peoples allied in the anti-Hitler coalition and for the efforts of millions of fighters for freedom in liquidating the Nazi barbarity.

The two sides pointed out that it is disgraceful and outrageous, at a time when mankind is commemorating the 40th anniversary of liberation from Hitlerite fascism and when a peace movement of unprecedented strength exists throughout the world, for imperialism--following the deployment of first-strike weapons in NATO member-countries in Western Europe--to push ahead with all its might and against all common sense with its extensive program to militarize space and thus to unleash another, extremely dangerous, round of the arms race. The forces of imperialism, particularly the United States, seek the implementation of their longstanding dream, the attainment of military supremacy over the socialist countries, which represent the main obstacle to their ambition for world domination. The representatives of the CPCZ and the DKP emphatically rejected the repeated attempts of revanchist and militarist circles to question the postwar arrangement of Europe. More than ever before, peace and the security of peoples require the active shaping of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems on the basis of existing treaties, in the spirit of cooperation and the policy of detente. The two sides expressed the conviction that it is possible to defend peace if all peace-loving forces regardless of nationality, political affiliation, and differences in ideological views stand up even more actively against the threat of war and its exponents. Herbert

Mies stressed that the DKP, together with all peace-loving and democratic forces, will continue to strive to prevent another war from ever arising from the German soil. This must be the supreme principle of the entire policy of the FRG.

The two sides welcomed the policy of peace and detente enacted by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The proposals of these countries contained in the latest documents of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact Member-States constitute a realistic path toward ending the arms race, bringing about disarmament, and carrying on the policy of easing international tension. In this context, they regard as particularly important the latest proposals of the USSR put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev, which are aimed at freezing, limiting, and reducing the number of nuclear weapons and at terminating the development of space weapons. They assessed the introduction of a unilateral moratorium by the USSR on the deployment of medium-range missiles and additional countermeasures in Europe as an act of good will and political responsibility. They welcomed the start of the Geneva talks between the USSR and the United States on the whole complex of nuclear weapons, including ways of preventing the militarization of space. For these talks to be successful, it is essential that the United States approach them with all due seriousness, that it adhere to the agreed subject and objectives of the talks in all their points, and that it give up its plans to exploit space for military ends. In this connection, Herbert Mies reaffirmed the demand of the FRG peace movement that the deployment of American medium-range missiles be halted and that the already installed first-strike weapons be withdrawn.

The CPCZ and DKP representatives exchanged views on the development of the international communist and workers movement and stressed the essential need to consolidate its unity.

A full unanimity of views on all questions under discussion was noted during the talks. The two representatives expressed appreciation for the high level of mutual relations between the CPCZ and the DKP and advocated their further diversification and intensification in the interest of the peoples of the two countries and of security and peace in Europe.

During its stay in the FRG, the CPCZ Central Committee delegation was also guest of the DKP leader organizations of Hamburg and Lower Saxony and of the communists of Wuppertal. It paid visits to the Ernst Thaelmann memorial in Hamburg and to the Friedrich Engels memorial in Wuppertal. It also met with Ursula Kraus, the mayor of Wuppertal.

CSO: 2400/392

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHURCH ANNIVERSARY CAUSES TENSION

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 4 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by Viktor Meier datelined 3 April, Vienna: "Prague Leadership Fears Method, Apostle of the Slavs"]

[Text] The archbishop of Prague, Cardinal Tomasek, has protested in a letter to President Husak against attempts by the regime to influence the planned church celebrations of the 1100th anniversary of the death of the Apostle of the Slavs, Method, on 6 April. "An alarm was raised as if the republic were in danger," wrote the cardinal. He referred to an unpublished party guideline on how functionaries should act vis-a-vis the church celebrations which are purportedly "directed against the CSSR and the other socialist countries." On the day of remembrance, allegedly according to the party guideline, only the "cultural aspects" are to be mentioned; the religious and even historical-national aspects must be suppressed.

This attitude of the Prague regime hardly seems comprehensible. The religious as well as national aspects of the memorial day would provide the present regime with arguments which it could use against the Roman Catholic Church, the West in general, and against the Germans. Furthermore, the regime could mobilize Slavic solidarity. At one time, under President Masaryk, this was partially attempted; in addition to the Hussites, the Slavic church in Greater Moravia of the 9th century was called upon as the second pillar of the so-called Czech National Church. The former state of Greater Moravia, which coincidentally existed approximately within the borders of modern Czechoslovakia, was also cited as proof that this new state really contained "historical logic." All this could be taken up and proclaimed by a regime which has accepted its history with inner strength. If it cannot do so, there remains only the oppressive attitude criticized by Cardinal Tomasek. But this attitude also enables the cardinal to claim, on his part, the national aspect of the Method memorial day for the church.

At the bottom of all these matters are complex facts, significant for European history. Around 800 A.D., in the area of present-day Moravia, eastern Bohemia, and the region of today's Slovakia, stretching as far as Lake Balaton (at that time, the Hungarians were still far off beyond the Carpathians), the first Slavic state came into being in Western Europe, which historians call the "Greater Moravian empire." Its centers of power could be substantiated through excavations in southern and central Moravia, especially in Mikulcice and Stare Mesto as well as in Slovakian Nitra. Around 860, Prince Rostislav recognized the necessity of joining the growing, occidental-Christian community, but he also realized that the Frankish and Bavarian monasteries in the West which sent their missionaries into his territory, also asserted robust political interests in addition to religious ones. So he

asked Byzantine Emperor Michael III to send him trained clerics who could teach his people Christianity in a politically harmless and independent manner.

Byzantium recognized the opportunity and sent two monks, Constantine (later Cyril) and Method, on their way. They came from Saloniki and knew the language of the Slavic tribes living nearby. Their dialect, which today would be called "Macedonian," thus became elevated to Church Slavonic. Cyril created a special script for the Slavs; it was the intention of Byzantine policy to bring the Slavic peoples closer to the Byzantine sphere, discreetly and in their own way, so to speak. Yet the script he invented and submitted to the pope in 868 is not the present-day Cyrillic script, but rather an artificial one which can still be seen today as a historic relic in some monasteries of Dalmatia. Cyrillic script, with its letters borrowed from Greek, was probably created in Bulgaria in 893.

Cyril and Method found themselves confronted with a strong Frankish influence in Moravia. They had to bow to existing realities and in 867 traveled to Rome, where Cyril died, but where Method had the Slavic liturgy expressly confirmed by Pope Hadrian. In 870, Method returned to Pannonia and Moravia, bearing the title of a "bishop of Syrmia." But his German rivals captured him and held him prisoner in Regensburg for 3 years. Papal intervention finally set him free and let him attain the highest rank to which he aspired, that of "archbishop of Moravia."

However, even that did not keep away his German rivals who wanted to get a hold on Greater Moravia. He had to tolerate the Bavarian, Wiching, as a kind of independent bishop beside him in Nitra. A second journey to Rome in 880 resulted again in papal affirmation of the Slavic church, despite German resistance, yet Method saw his great goal of an independent Slavic church threatened more and more by the West, so that in 881 he traveled to Constantinople in order to secure backing for himself. It was to little avail. When Method died in Moravia on 6 April 885, Easter Sunday, persecution of his followers and devotees began immediately, and they had to flee to Croatia and Bulgaria. Only from there did the Slavic liturgy rise again; it was temporarily banned by the pope.

It is not certain where St. Method is buried. Tradition has it that it is one of the churches excavated in Moravian Stare Mesto. But it is not known whether the Moravian center was located there, or in Mikulcice, which is called "Velograd" in documentary sources. The church celebrations, at any rate, will take place in Stare Mesto. It will also require great tact on the part of the Roman Catholic Church to do justice to the historic truths. It will not be able to claim St. Method all for itself; it must not only share him with the Eastern church, but must also accept the accusation of a historically grave intolerance.

9917

CSO: 2300/359

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

MOROCCAN COOPERATION IN CULTURE--Rabat April 22 (CTK)--An intergovernmental program of cultural and scientific cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Morocco for 1985-1987 was signed here today by Czechoslovak Ambassador Bedrich Illek and head of the cultural department of the Moroccan Foreign Ministry Muhammad Ayush. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1629 GMT 22 Apr 85 LD]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO ETHIOPIA--Gustav Husak, president of the republic, has named (Edward Kokan) Czechoslovak ambassador plenipotentiary extraordinary to Ethiopia. He simultaneously decided to recall Libor Pecl from this office. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0001 GMT 27 Apr 85 LD]

CZECHOSLOVAK DEVICE ABOARD SOVIET SATELLITE--Bratislava April 30 (CTK)--One of the devices carried by the Soviet satellite "Progress 10," put into orbit on April 26, is a six-channel radiometre made in Czechoslovakia. The radiometre has been developed by the Geophysical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and the mathematics and physics faculty of Comenius University in Bratislava within the socialist countries' intercosmos program and the Czechoslovak-Soviet project intershock. The instrument is used for measuring solar activity in the radio frequencies zone. This is the second instrument of the two Czechoslovak institutes working in space and another one is being prepared for the interbol program. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1638 GMT 30 Apr 85 LD]

CANADIAN SPORTS MINISTER VISITS--Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal today in Prague received Otto Jelinek, Canadian minister of state for fitness and amateur sports, who took part in this year's world championships and European championships in ice hockey in Prague. The guest congratulated the CSSR on winning the top trophy at the anniversary 50th World Ice Hockey championships. He praised the high level of sporting competition and the conditions created for the successful course of the world championships. The federal premier welcomed the visit by the Canadian minister to Czechoslovakia, and he pointed out possibilities for all round widening of contacts between Czechoslovak and Canadian sportsmen. In this context, he also emphasized that Czechoslovakia is interested in fruitful and long-term cooperation with Canada in culture, art, and other sectors, particularly the areas of agriculture, science, and technology. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1000 GMT 4 May 85 LD]

JEWISH COMMUNITY PROTESTS BITBURG VISIT--Prague (CTK)--The Council of Jewish Religious Communities in the Czech Socialist Republic and the Central Union of Jewish Religious Communities in the Slovak Socialist Republic on Monday [29 April] sent a letter to the U.S. ambassador in Prague, in which they ask him to convey to President Ronald Reagan the profound indignation of Czechoslovak Jews over his intention to pay a visit to the military cemetery at Bitburg in the FRG. This gesture, it is stressed in the letter, would coarsely sully the memory of millions of victims of the Nazi genocide, who included 200,000 Czechoslovak Jews. It would be an unpardonable affront to all those who had fought in the ranks of the allied armies for the liberation of peoples from the yoke of fascism. The representatives of Jewish communities therefore demand with all due emphasis that President Reagan refrain from his plan to visit the military cemetery at Bitburg. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Apr 85 p 1 AU]

PRAGUE BARRICADES RALLY--A rally of veterans of the fighting at the Prague Barricades took place today in Prague-Liben to commemorate events of 40 years ago. Here is a report from Stanislav Benda: Together with direct participants of the May uprising in Prague and heroes at the barricades, some 5,000 citizens of Prague gathered at the rally near the Most Barikadniku Bridge in the area in front of the monument to the fighters on the Prague barricades. The citizens of the 7th and 8th districts of Prague welcomed in their midst a delegation of the Prague CPCZ Committee, the Prague City National Committee, and the city committee of the National Front, headed by Antonin Kapeck, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the Prague City party committee. They also welcomed a delegation of the Central Committee of the National Front, the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters, and other guests. [passage omitted] The rally participants adopted a statement condemning the militarist policy of the United States and its NATO allies. They voiced total support for the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak government, and pledged to contribute through increased work efforts to the economic and political might of our state and thereby of the whole socialist community. [Excerpts] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 4 May 85 LD]

CSO: 2400/391

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CHURCH GROUP VIEWS RELATIONS WITH STATE, LDC'S PEACE

Schwerin MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG in German Vol 40 No 11,
17 Mar 85 pp 1-2

/Article signed "Th.": "Searching for Paths to Peace"

/Text/ Representatives of grass-root church groups, which feel a sense of responsibility for peace, justice, and the environment, met for the third time from 1-3 March, this time at the invitation of the Provincial Church of Mecklenburg in Schwerin, under the motto "Concrete /Steps/ for Peace." A year ago, a similar meeting of peace, environmental and third world groups from across the GDR had taken place in Eisenach; the first of these meetings had been held in Berlin in 1983. The chairman of the working group "Peace of the Mecklenburg Church," Walter Bindemann, greeted the over 200 participants at the meeting, which he described as a kind of grass roots synod. He described the goal of the meeting as the encouragement of networking between the various groups via an exchange of information, the refining of one's own position by means of mutual discussion, and the achievement of mutual encouragement for concrete actions.

Competition Of Ideas:
Peace-Concrete

Provincial Bishop Christoph Stier warmly welcomed the participants, who came from every section of the country. Christoph Stier saw in the fact that this meeting was taking place for the third time a sign of the continuity that characterizes the efforts of the Christian community on behalf of peace. For quite some time now, these efforts have been more self-evident, more competent, and more binding. At the same time, the themes have become more comprehensive. The national synods alone over the past three years are proof for the way in which awareness of this subject has steadily grown, year after year, in the consciousness of many Christians. In 1982, the national synod in Halle formulated a clear rejection of the spirit and logic of deterrence. A year later, in Potsdam, it emphasized the interdependence of peace and justice, and last year, in Greifswald, responsibility for all of creation was portrayed as the constant obligation of the Church. "Peace - Justice - Creation: these are the three essential, all-encompassing themes," said the provincial bishop. For, he continued, peace is indivisible, peace among mankind, among the peoples of earth, and with nature.

The key word "church" characterizes both the independence and the nature of the work for peace, which is being carried out by grass roots groups, according to the bishop. The affirmation of the peace of God should bring about a credible witness to peace as well as a more effective service on behalf of peace. Thus work carried out by the churches on behalf of peace moves between the poles of peace as divine promise and as a task.

Of course this key word "church" must not imply taking over by means of ecclesiastical control, Christoph Stier continued. He said that he would welcome an open, critical discussion between groups, individuals, and representatives of the ecclesiastical organizations. A fair debate sets forces free, while mutual suspicion fetters these forces. The discussion should not be informed by fears, but alone by the question: What is today in actuality the teaching of Jesus Christ?

The provincial bishop emphasized that the actual, concrete work for peace is, despite disappointments and struggles, meaningful and holds promise. In order to encourage this concrete work for peace, Christoph Stier invited all groups to participate in a "Competition of Ideas: Peace-Concrete." He called upon the groups to develop concrete suggestions on ways in which the cause of peace can be advanced and to develop steps which can be taken by anyone who so chooses. He said that the Provincial Church of Mecklenburg would invite the winning group for a weekend in one of its homes, and in this way offer further opportunities for discussions and encounters. Whether this Mecklenburg initiative for an alternative "peace prize" would one day have a snowball effect remains to be seen, said the provincial bishop.

Talks in Four Sections

An organizational element of the meeting, in addition to reports on work being carried out in various parts of the country, a keynote address, and a festive church service on Sunday morning, was the thematic work which took place in intensive group discussions in four different sections. Under the biblical motto "Seek what is best for the city" (Jeremiah 19, 7), Section I discussed the responsibilities of those who govern and those who are governed within a socialist democracy. The opening theses referred to the fact that the quote from the prophet reminds us of a learning process in the politically powerless and spiritually dejected Israel. It belongs to the essence of our faith, and it is in service of our country, when we relate hope for the Kingdom of God to action on behalf of a just, participatory, and viable society. In the summary section report, the work "seek" received special attention. It refers to the fact that efforts on behalf of "what is best for the city" are part of a process that involves society as a whole.

The theme of Section II, under the motto of the Sermon on the Mount: "Love your enemies" (Matthew 5,6), dealt with problems of the way in which security is understood. National security policy and a Christian understanding of security based on the message of the Sermon on the Mount are not the same thing. The view was repeatedly expressed in the course of discussion that the experiencing of difficulties and uselessness in the attempt to live out concretely the Christian understanding of security causes many people to give

up. The section invited all participants to reflect on three questions: Is resignation really present, and if so, what are its causes? Do we resign just because it seems to be expected of us? Do we observe resignation only on the part of others?

Under the biblical theme of the command of creation: "Make earth subject to yourselves," (Genesis 1,28), Section III discussed the topic: "Ecological crisis and our own living space." The section report emphasized that the causes of the ecological crisis are the same as the causes of the military threat and global injustice, i.e. the lust for power over human beings, things, and nature, as well as the immoderation of our own material demands on the earth as our living space. Shalom signifies not only disarmament and understanding among the peoples of earth, but also justice between rich and poor, and peace with nature.

Finally, the topic of Section IV, under the biblical word "...Justice as a mighty torrent" (Amos 5,24), dealt with the international economic order and our own interests. In this section, the existence of the socialist countries was seen as an opportunity for the developing countries. From this point of view, too, according to Section IV it is important to take part in the structuring of our socialist society, so that developing countries can see more clearly the possibility of such a societal model. Concretely, this means taking part in the formation of participatory, democratic structures, developing an alternative value system, not orienting one's needs against the richest western industrial countries, developing an openness to dialogue, and encouraging social equality.

Suggestions and Recommendations

The following concrete suggestions and recommendations that came from the various sections found unanimous approval:

The churches should create the possibility of assigning someone to the full-time position of peace coordinator. It would be the responsibility of this person above all to coordinate the work for peace being carried out by the various churches and groups. This proposal, furthermore, was to be carried back by the groups to the synods in the various regions of the country.

For three years now, environmental groups have had the possibility of discussing their concerns with each other and getting to know each other at the bike rally in Potsdam. This nation-wide meeting, put on by many young Christians, is endangered because the church property in Potsdam-Hermannswerder, where it had previously taken place, is no longer available. The participants in Schwerin expressed a strong desire not to let the bike rally disappear, but rather to search for new possibilities for its continuation.

An initiative of the provincial church of Saxony was well received, according to which the parishes would be called upon to observe a week of responsibility for creation, from June 2 - 9. The seminar expressly requested the authorities of all of the provincial churches to join in this effort by annually observing a week of environmental responsibility.

Finally, the seminar directed a letter to all synods, in which it asked for support for the 2 percent request of the ecumenical council of churches. In accordance with this, all member churches of the ecumenical council are requested to make 2 percent of their budgets available for an ecumenical development fund. The letter to the synods noted that the ecumenical sharing of means has been to this point more vision than reality in our churches. It is now time /according to the letter/ to change our course from that of mere donations to that of true comradely sharing.

The Task: Political Deaconship

A question raised very often in this weekend's talks dealt with the self-understanding of the grass roots groups and their relationship to such church institutions as the synods, church authorities, or parish councils. With regard to this point, Prior Heino Falcke of Erfurt said in the keynote address, with the clear agreement of the plenary session, that the church should neither integrate nor subsume the grass root groups. They are well positioned on the periphery of the parishes and on the periphery of the church. "It could be that soon the center will also be located on the periphery," said Heino Falcke. For it could be that these groups live out what the church preaches. "The church has said that we reject the spirit, the logic, and the practice of deterrence. Where is this rejection actually being lived out?" asked Falcke. And he continued: "I find that it is only consistently lived out among the groups of people who really turn away from this system of deterrence and seek alternative avenues to peace."

Heino Falcke said further that the credibility of our church depends in great part on the existence of these peripheral groups that attempt to take seriously the teachings of the church. The confederation of churches went beyond its means when it spoke the great and good word of renunciation. In Falcke's view, "the groups help us to come closer, step by step, to this great word, that we have set ahead of us." If one therefore wishes to evaluate the grass roots groups correctly, one would have to recognize that they are neither to be missionized nor controlled. They would find their place in a political deaconship. If the ecclesiastical organizations would agree that the grass roots groups are practicing a political deaconship with the approval of the church, that would be a great step forwards, Heino Falcke explained.

The participants at the Schwerin meeting agreed on the formation of a continuity committee to prepare the next meeting "Concrete /Steps/ for Peace," which should also serve to keep the grass roots groups in contact with each other.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

TOP SCIENTIST VON ARDENNE ATTACKS SDI

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by Prof Manfred Baron von Ardenne, Sc.D., M.D., Ph.D., director of the Manfred von Ardenne Institute in Dresden: "'Stars Wars'---A Suicide Mission That Ought to Be Stopped"]

[Text] Prof Dr Manfred Baron von Ardenne, the director of the Manfred von Ardenne Institute in Dresden, is the recipient of the State Prize, the Lenin Prize of the Soviet Union, the first and second class National Prize, the golden pin of the Patriotic Order of Merit and also holds the title of Hero of Labor.

Born in 1907, Manfred von Ardenne obtained his first patent at the age of 16. He is one of the pioneers of radio and radar technology and of electronic television. In 1937, he invented the scanning electron microscope.

While working in the Soviet Union between 1945 and 1955 as head of a nuclear research institute near Sukhumi, Ardenne developed an industrial isotope separation process in collaboration with Gustav Hertz, Max Steenbeck and Peter Adolf Thiessen.

Baron von Ardenne has 600 scientific publications and more than 500 patents to his credit and has authored over 30 scientific books.

Since 1955, the Dresden research institute has developed the electron beam multi-chamber oven; high intensity electron guns, plasma equipment and multistage oxygen therapy.

Von Ardenne is a member of the People's Chamber; an honorary member of the GDR research council; a member of the Peace Council; a member of the scientific advisory council to the Council of Ministers on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy; a member of the physics society

of the GDR Academy of Sciences; a member of the council of elders of the GDR ministry of health's medical science council; the founder and president of the GDR society for biomedical technology; an honorary member of the society for ultrasonic diagnostics of the GDR; a member of the GDR anti-tumor society; a member of the GDR physics and mathematical biology society; a member of the FRG society for electron microscopy; a member of the Italian bio-electrochemical society and the international astronautic academy in Paris, France.

With the impact of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki nuclear explosions still fresh in his mind, Albert Einstein issued a public statement in 1946 the contents of which are at least as topical today as they were 39 years ago. "Until now, it was never possible for one people to wage war on another people without sending its army across national boundaries," he wrote. "But now, with the invention of rockets and atom bombs, no population center anywhere in the world is safe from sudden destruction as a result of a single attack any longer."

Einstein: No Such Thing As Perfect Shield

Even if a "defense" against incoming missiles could be developed after many years of research, such a defense "could not possibly be perfect," Einstein believed. "If a single missile with a nuclear warhead were to attack Minneapolis today, it would cause almost as much damage to that city as was done to Nagasaki. Bullets kill individuals; but nuclear bombs kill entire cities. An armored car can survive a hail of bullets; but natural science knows of no protection against a weapon capable of destroying civilization itself." Using these sentiments as his point of departure, the father of the relativity theory postulated the need for a "new way of thinking, if mankind is to continue to exist and to develop to higher levels."

This was written at a time when the United States was in sole possession of an albeit small number of nuclear weapons. How much more urgent is this question today—at a time when the nuclear powers have an estimated 50,000 to 60,000 nuclear warheads between them—enough to destroy 700,000 cities of the size of Hiroshima. Or to put it differently: these weapons would suffice to wage 6,000 wars of the scope of World War II—provided mankind managed to survive the initial "exchange of blows."

The abyss separating the things to be done for the well-being of mankind and the waste of human resources to build more and more weapons which afford ever less protection is widening constantly. I am experiencing this tragic discrepancy personally almost every day in the face of our broad spectrum of research activities in physical technology, natural science and medicine.

U.S. to Blame for Arms Race

The main reason for this deplorable state of affairs must be that the arms buildup pursued by the imperialist circles because of their desire for profit and world domination is forcing the Soviet Union and her socialist allies to do everything within their power to maintain the military-strategic balance and thereby to guarantee stability in the world.

It is an historically proven fact which no Western expert denies that the U.S. military-industrial complex has been and continues to be in the vanguard of the arms race. At a symposium sponsored by the Max Planck Society in May 1984 at Ringberg Castle on the Tegernsee, Prof Dr Wolfgang K. H. Panofsky, the director of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center in the United States, pointed out that the United States has continuously been stepping up the arms race—starting with the discovery of the atomic and hydrogen bombs and proceeding to missile-equipped nuclear submarines, medium-range missiles and missiles with multiple individually targeted nuclear warheads.²

The rationale offered for every new step in weapons development was that the United States was lagging behind the Soviet Union and that the "window of vulnerability" could only be closed by the appropriation of more and more billions of dollars for armament programs. Afterwards, it invariably turned out that there was no such window but that the estimates of the Soviet potential had been purposely exaggerated by the CIA in order to provide a plausible argument for the need by the United States to carry out a "modernization program."

Contributing to Nuclear Standoff

Making use of its temporary, partial advantage, the United States left no stone unturned in playing this advantage as a trump card in negotiations with the Soviet Union, hoping to extort concessions from her. Overestimating their own capabilities while underestimating those of the Soviets, the Pentagon strategists failed to see that the USSR in a very real sense has the wherewithal to restore the erstwhile balance. The Soviet Union is proving this today as she did in the difficult years following World War II when the task was to break the atom bomb monopoly of the United States. As a scientist who worked in the Soviet Union at that time, I recognized the need, along with a number of my German colleagues, of restoring the nuclear balance as quickly as possible—and I put my knowledge and my ability to use in order to solve the problem on which the maintenance of peace so decisively depended.

It is not merely because of the experiences I had during those years that I am in full agreement with the assessment contained in a speech by Erich Honecker to first secretaries of SED district organizations this February: the decisive contribution to the prevention of a nuclear

inferno is being made by the USSR. It is her doing in the first instance that a military-strategic balance has been attained and is being preserved. The Soviet Union, in cooperation with the other socialist states, has untiringly been working toward an end of the arms race; a lowering of the level of military confrontation and the ultimate abolition of the threat of nuclear war.³

A Challenge to World Conscience.

We, who are all peace-loving people, are witnessing with extreme concern how the leading circles of the United States are not only planning to escalate the arms race on earth but to extend into the universe—turning the heavens into a kind of antechamber of hell. This "Star Wars Project" by the most aggressive circles of imperialism constitutes the greatest challenge to world conscience today. Forty years after the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people from Nazi barbarism, all of mankind is confronted with perhaps the most serious threat to world peace. The existence of life on our earth is endangered in an unprecedented way. For the peoples of the earth, their very existence and the life of each individual are at risk.

Influential political leaders in Washington are constantly praising this "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI) of theirs as a kind of wonder drug of the atomic age which will supposedly deliver mankind from all evil. In this, they are also speculating on the steadily expanding fear and uncertainty resulting from the unchecked arms buildup which prevails in the United States as much as anywhere. This concern is reflected in the pastoral letter of the American bishops which calls a nuclear first strike an immoral act as well as in the countrywide campaign for a nuclear freeze.

A survey conducted in the United States by the Public Agenda Foundation in 1984 turned up the following interesting results: 96 percent of the Americans questioned felt that a "battle with the Soviet Union is too dangerous in a nuclear world;" 89 percent thought that an all-out nuclear war "would destroy both the United States and the Soviet Union." 83 percent said that "we cannot be sure that life on earth will go on after a nuclear war" and 68 percent of the sample said they did not believe that the United States could "win" any kind of nuclear war with the Soviet Union.⁴

Most Expensive Arms Project in History

That is the psychological backdrop against which the American President gave a speech in March 1983 in which he proposed to turn enemy missiles into "superannuated and obsolete" weapons by building an effective defense against them. To this end, a "defensive umbrella" is to be created over the next few years or decades at a cost of anywhere between 500 billion

and one trillion dollars which is to be made up of a system echeloned in depth both on earth and in space.

The United States is concentrating its efforts both on entirely new weapons systems such as laser guns and on the continued expansion of its network of military satellites, on the construction of manned military space stations and the establishment of a satellite-supported space command center so as to coordinate by electronic means first all activities in space itself and subsequently all strategic activities on the sea, on land, in the air and in space.⁵

Improperly Labeled

One really must come right out and say that the SDI is being sold with an improper label. The so-called "Strategic Defense Initiative" is defensive in name only. Both in its essence and its purpose, the "Star Wars" project is an aggressive one. Once the propaganda frosting is removed from the project, one can clearly see it for what it is. The real purpose of this "defensive umbrella" is to permit the United States to continue developing its strategic offensive forces at the same speed and with a clearly defined goal in mind—which is to attain a nuclear first strike capability. What the Pentagon has in mind is to acquire the capability to destroy the corresponding strategic systems of the other side with the help of these missile defense weapons or at least to neutralize them. By rendering a retaliatory strike impossible, so the Pentagon generals are arguing, the Soviet Union could be disarmed in the face of a nuclear threat by the United States.

For that matter, the top military men make no bones about this. According to the WASHINGTON POST, Maj Gen John H Storrie, the chief of space activities for the U.S. Air Force, testifying before a committee of the U.S. House of Representatives in March 1983, said: "We will engage in all the activities in space which we presently engage in on land, by sea and in the air—which is to say we are preparing to wage wars and to win them."⁶ A study prepared by chiefs of staff of the Air Force and entitled "Air Force 2000" specifically calls for "superiority in space" involving "the potential for destroying enemy space systems."

Nuclear War Unpredictable

One does not have to be an expert in order to recognize that the realization of this project would vastly increase the threat of a nuclear inferno. The destabilizing effect such a development would have may be seen with respect to prior warning times. In the case of strategic nuclear weapons, that time is about 45 minutes. The deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe has reduced that time to 7 minutes. The SDI project would encourage an aggressor to carry out a first strike in the belief that he will be able to escape a retaliatory blow. The mere

existence of such a system thus serves to increase mutual suspicion and undermines the stability of international relations tremendously. Nothing about nuclear war can be calculated; nor can its consequences be predicted. And that is why it should never be permitted to occur.

This above all is what the critique of influential political figures in the United States itself as well as in Western Europe and that of leading scientists of the Old and New World is aimed against. MacGeorge Bundy, George F Kennan, Robert McNamara and Gerard Smith, all of them high-ranking officials in previous American administrations, for example, spoke of their "serious concern regarding this project that will lead to untold new expenditures and dangers both for our own country and for mankind unless it is stopped."⁷

In a sensational study, the four respected authors accuse the President of a disregard for reality. "The reality which we cannot escape," they write, "is such that there is no hope that nuclear weapons will become obsolete as a result of the Star Wars project. The first and foremost political task for those who wish to save this country from an expensive and dangerous chase after an illusion would perhaps consist in clarifying this basic realization."

Stability Is Basis for Peace

As deeply convinced as we natural scientists are of the potential of human creativity, we must make one thing perfectly clear: the idea that nuclear weapons or ballistic missiles could be rendered ineffective as a result of scientific and technological progress is a disastrous illusion. In this regard, I fully agree with a statement by Dr Hans Bethe, the well-known nuclear physicist. The advocates of the Star Wars project, he said, "propose the eliminate the threat emanating from nuclear weapons by means of technology. I believe that this is a hopeless endeavor. That threat can only be eliminated by means of a wise policy." On another occasion, Bethe, a Nobel laureate in physics, said: "The only reason why we are living in peace today is that each side knows that it cannot emerge victorious from a nuclear war." If the existing balance is disturbed through the introduction of anti-ballistic missile system, however, this would trigger an unendingly spiraling arms race and cause constantly greater instability.⁸

Not All Utopias Are Realizable

Albert Einstein could already see that there is no such thing as perfect protection against incoming waves of missiles. Although a great many things considered utopian in the past have become reality over the past several decades, that assessment still stands notwithstanding the fact that the possibility cannot be ruled out that individual missiles can be destroyed at a certain stage. Most members of the scientific community believe that the creation of a total defensive shield is an impossibility. Given the the power relationships of today, even a 95 percent destruction rate would

not save the peoples on both sides from extinction in the event of a major nuclear war. And according to the best information available there is not a single technical adviser of Reagan's who believes that such a high protection rate is conceivable—simply because they all know better.

More Weapons Than Needed to Commit Suicide

The fact that mankind today for the first time in history has more weapons that it needs to destroy itself puts a new light on the role to be played by the scientist and adds an extra dimension to his responsibility for the uses to which the results of human creativity are put. It is true that scientists have also had a hand in developing weapons ever since the beginnings of science. It is told of Archimedes that he played a decisive role in the defense of Syracuse against the Roman army in the third century B.C. When the Romans finally did break into the city, they encountered the scientist drawing geometric figures in the sand. "Do not disturb my circles," Archimedes called out to a Roman soldier but that soldier killed him anyway.

At last year's symposium of the Max Planck Society, Prof Panofsky pointed out that almost half of the world's scientists are currently working in the military field, calling it "a truly depressing bit of statistics." This raises the question of what this potential might be able to accomplish, if it were placed in the service of fostering human progress.

Letter by Humphrey

In this connection, I am reminded of a letter I got in 1960 from then Sen Hubert H Humphrey, who later became Vice President of the United States. The letter provided the impetus to a conversation between myself and Dr Zworykin, a friend of Humphrey's, in Prague in which we discussed ways of redirecting the efforts of the electronic industry which was primarily working on military projects toward medical electronics to promote human well-being. (At the time, Zworykin was the president of the International Federation for Medical Electronics.) I can well remember how delighted we were to exercise our imagination and to picture a vision of what might be.

We also dealt with subjects outside our special field of medical electronics, discussing such matters as how to achieve progress in combating the primary illnesses and afflictions of mankind; in secondary and university education; in energy production (nuclear fusion, the use of stored quantities of nuclear explosives for peaceful use in nuclear power plants, solar energy)—all of them to benefit the modernization of the infrastructure of our cities. Today, the great tasks of environmental protection and the effective fight against hunger have been added to this list in many parts of the world.

The "Research" Ploy

Less than ever may a scientist today withdraw to the resigned point of view of an Archimedes, asking not to have his circles disturbed. It is all the more important to prevent the abuse of science because certain circles in the United States are presently making a major effort to place the economic, scientific and productive potential of the advanced capitalist countries fully into the service of strengthening the military power of U.S. imperialism.

In the propaganda smoke screen with which the Pentagon is currently surrounding the Star Wars project the idea of "research" is playing an important role. In the first instance, this is being done to dissipate the concerns of the NATO allies about becoming objects of the American Star Wars strategy today and being numbered among its first victims tomorrow through no fault of their own. To fool international public opinion, a demagogic effort is being mounted to play up the initial phase of the project as merely involving research. Star Wars is termed a scientific project serving to limit nuclear armaments and opening the door to a new stage of detente. The second part of this demagoguery includes the assertion, which is to serve as a lure, that research activities connected with the militarization of space will create a boom of new technologies which will help expand the potential for economic and social progress of all participants in major ways.

The facts, of course, are the exact opposite of these demagogic promises. By making such statements, the originators of the Star Wars plans hope to enlist the capabilities of all their advisers and allies in the implementation of the U.S. strategic objective of attaining superiority. Washington aims to integrate the potential of the leading capitalist nations of Europe as well as Japan, their entire intellectual and economic know-how and the wealth of their imagination plus the knowledge and abilities of their researchers, engineers and workers into this gigantic and illusory project and to abuse all of these resources to achieve its adventurous goals.

U.S. Monopolies to Cash In

Since opposition to the militarization of space is growing in Western Europe and since even the political leaders of these countries have been voicing scepticism in response to pressure from public opinion, the Star Wars advocates are now talking peace. At ministerial conferences and scientific symposia, Washington's emissaries are letting it be known that it is high time the West Europeans and Japanese jumped on the moving train.

U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger has drawn up a letter along these lines which points a gun at the allies, as it were. Word from the addressee nations has it that the letter does not meet the criteria of a serious offer in any other respect either. "More than anything, it sounded like a letter from the head of a conglomerate, addressing a harsh request to his subsidiaries to finally surrender their patents," an FRG weekly wrote.⁹ This constitutes "unacceptable conduct among allies" and is in no way suited to allay West European scepticism regarding the possibility of the technical realization of the Star Wars plans and their political feasibility.

All the experience of the past decades teaches us that any participation in the armaments of the United States has worked to the detriment of the interests of peoples and individuals. More than once, Western scientists and businessmen have complained that [these projects] turned out to be one-way streets to the benefit of the United States and that the partners were allowed to tinker with the secondary problems while the Americans kept the top technologies for themselves. Even at this early stage it is becoming apparent that the United States wishes to hand out specific partial assignments to the participating nations to work on, unconnected among themselves—for one thing because the nations concerned have outstripped the United States in these fields and for another because this is one way of keeping the participants in the dark regarding the overall parameters of the project. By securing a monopoly of the overall findings, the major American arms manufacturers are eliminating unwelcome West European and Japanese competition on the world market at the same time.

It is also a fact that the United States, by maintaining its high-interest policy and manipulating the dollar exchange rate, has forced the other capitalist nations into a position of dependency and saddled them with a major share of its arms costs. Analogously, the scientific-technological potential of the capitalist nations, of Japan, the FRG and even of Austria and Sweden is now to be subordinated to these extremely disastrous plans which threaten the security of all peoples.

This is energetically supported by a targeted removal of top scientific-technological talent from these countries to the United States whereby immense loss and damage is done to their economies.

Entirely New Weapons Categories

Even at this early stage, it is easy to see that no particular advantages for their own research programs will accrue to the allies as a result of their participation in this suicide mission. The Star Wars advocates may tout the project as a "bag of wonders;" in truth, however, it is a Pandora's box which spells disaster for mankind. Objectively speaking, every country and even every single scientist participating in the project for an aggressive system in space assumes a share of the guilt of starting a

new round in the arms race. We must be clear about the fact that by expanding the arms race into space an entirely new category of weapons will make an appearance which can only be compared with the introduction of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet-American negotiations which have just begun in Geneva are the only forum in which the possibility exists of preventing an arms race in space and putting an end to it on earth at long last. But that assumes that—based on the agreements on the subject matter and the goal of the negotiations—the entire complex of armaments is discussed, including the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and of medium-range weapons and the prevention of the adventurist space arms plans of the United States.

Hope Based on Soviet Conciliatory Stance in Geneva

For me and any other impartial observer it is a source of hope to see what conciliatory offers the Soviet Union is making in order to achieve a mutually agreeable outcome in Geneva. Without a doubt, these are important negotiations because they are charting the course for future Soviet-American relations and developments throughout the world—either toward an intensification of the arms race and a growing threat of war or toward a strengthening of general security and a more stable peace.

For any reasonable individual the decision is clear. He cannot but agree with what Mikhail Gorbachov told the newspaper PRAVDA. As long as we have sat down at a table to agree on a reduction of armaments [he said] we should at least desist from increasing them. This means—as the USSR proposes—that the Soviet Union and the United States should introduce a moratorium on the construction of offensive space weapons, including research and development on these and on their testing and deployment for the entire duration of the negotiations and that they should freeze their strategic offensive weapons.¹⁰

The Soviet Union is once more giving evidence of its good will by introducing an immediate moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and by halting the implementation of other countermeasures in Europe. In my view, that amounts to more than a mere gesture. It is a decisive step aimed at moving ahead in the direction of arms limitation and disarmament. Since the moratorium is to run until November, it is to be hoped that the United States reacts positively to it because that would create an atmosphere conducive to progress in the Geneva talks on which mankind has pinned its hopes.

That "new way of thinking" of which Albert Einstein spoke is more urgently necessary today than it ever was, if mankind is to survive and move on to a higher level. This is the most lofty goal in the pursuit of which we dare not spare any effort and that goal is to see to it that

present and future generations are spared the horrors of war, which would in all certainty be the last epidemic to strike mankind.

FOOTNOTES

1. This statement was made public in 1946 as a part of a declaration by the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists whose chairman Albert Einstein was.
2. "Verantwortung und Ethik in der Wissenschaft" [Responsibility and Ethics in Science], Minutes and Reports of Max Planck Society, March 1984.
3. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 2/3 Feb 85.
4. THE TIMES, London, 15 Feb 85.
5. Prof Dr Heinz Stiller, "Die Verhinderung der Militarisierung des Welt-
raums—Schluesselfrage fuer Frieden, Ruestungsbegrenzung und Abruestung"
[Preventing the Militarization of Space—A Key Issue of Peace, Arms
Limitation and Disarmament], lecture at enlarged meeting of the ad-
visory council on space affairs of the GDR Peace Council.
6. WASHINGTON POST, 16 Oct 83.
7. "The President Must Choose: Star Wars or Arms Control," FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Winter 1984.
8. INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, 14 Jun 84.
9. DIE ZEIT, 5 Apr 85.
10. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 8 Apr 85.

9478

CSO: 2300/372

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SOLDIERS PUNISHED FOR LISTENING TO WESTERN MEDIA

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 2 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by Michael Mara: "Need for Protection Against 'Ideological Poison'; GDR Soldiers Are Forbidden to Tune in West German Broadcasts"]

[Text] By our staff member--As is known, the GDR NVA is not in a state of war with the FRG. Nevertheless a GDR soldier must expect punishment if he keeps himself informed by FRG radio and TV stations. Of course, most of the time he has no opportunity to tune in to an "enemy station." The company TV is so adjusted that it can receive Bloc stations only. Bringing along personally owned radio or TV sets to the quarters is subject to authorization and is not permitted to draftees. There remains only secret listening to Western stations on company-owned radio receivers or smuggling in a pocket radio. But the price GDR soldiers have to pay for "enemy reception" is high: they are charged with failure to obey orders, which entails disciplinary punishment.

The East Berlin military leadership argues that the FRG electronic mass media are "instruments of psychological warfare" and pursue "cleverly concealed counter-revolutionary propaganda against socialism and peace." They direct their "attacks" especially "against the political power of the working class and against the leading role of its Marxist-Leninist fighting party." Therefore it is a "class duty to deny penetration of socialism to the enemy and his antihuman ideology." This is taken into account with the "ban in principle of the reception of radio and TV stations of capitalist and nonsocialist states."

The GDR military leadership does not permit exceptions, for example the reception of pop music transmissions. Such programs, as all entertainment programs of the "class enemy" in general, it is claimed, serve the "dissemination of bourgeois ideology and lack of culture, in quite a few cases also the advocacy of revanchism and slandering of the GDR." Moreover, the musical and entertainment programs of the Western electronic media, however unpolitical they may appear to be, are "a preferred lure for the political programs."

Obviously the East Berlin military leadership fears the destabilizing effect of free information and opinions and at the same time harbors doubts in the "ideological steadfastness" of its soldiers. Here, so the Political Main Administration of the GDR armed forces emphasizes, there must be "no carelessness." The fact is not being overlooked "that many a person who has weakened once

started with tuning in the other wavelength." Therefore it is part of the NVA "class mission" to "protect" every soldier "safely from the ideological poison and the subversive machinations of the class enemy." No opinion of their own is allowed to the soldiers.

The instructions from the house of Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann--he is an SED Politburo member--are also revealing in another respect. They document that at least part of the East Berlin leadership continues to have a troubled relationship to the reception of Western stations. Even though it is tolerated in the private area, especially lately the propaganda against Western stations has flared up again. Nothing is also being done to provide appropriate possibilities in connection with the cabling of the antenna array in those parts of the GDR where [FRG] ARD radio and the Second German TV program cannot be received. But no attempt is also being made to limit in the GDR cities the past possibilities of reception from the West in installing cabled CATV--the political risk would be too big, unrest would be possible.

The by far greatest part of the GDR population--roughly 80 percent--can receive Western programs and makes active use of this possibility. The West TV for many GDR citizens is a substitute for their inability to travel to the West. The West program of the night before frequently is the most important topic of conversation of the GDR workers during the morning coffee break and also dominates the recess conversations of the students. Whoever cannot participate is left out in the conversation. Therefore SED comrades complain that in the classes of their children there is so-to-speak a "moral compulsion" to watch "Western TV."

The critical reporting of the FRG stations on grievances in the FRG, e.g., on mass unemployment, fear of the future, political scandals did contribute to a more realistic picture of the "golden West" for many GDR citizens. But the "deterrent effect" of such broadcasts is not as great as it is sometimes assumed to be in the West. Because of the unvarnished presentation of social reality, the West TV is more believed than the GDR's own. Freedom of movement and diversity of opinion exert an undiminished appeal to many GDR citizens and constantly undermine socialist awareness.

GDR functionaries envisage even greater dangers facing real socialism from satellite TV and the new media in general. The new technology, the warning was expressed recently in the East Berlin literary periodical SINN UND FORM, will not stop at the GDR borders but will offer to the individual "an increasingly bigger, finally unlimited self-determination in the choice and retrievability of his sources of entertainment." In this manner, "mass awareness can be stimulated but also be usurped." Since the unhampered flow of information is a nightmare for many SED functionaries, the demand for "an offensive counter-strategy" is becoming louder all the time.

It appears questionable whether or not that will ever happen. There are voices in the GDR that advocate making the GDR citizens capable of a critical confrontation with the West programs. Lately the media increasingly appeal to the parents to view only such programs with the children "which correspond to the socialist education and training goal." On account of its "information value," the reception of the "Aktuelle Kamera" [current affairs program] of GDR TV--it is

the counterpart to the "Tagesschau" (news reporting)--are "to be developed into a necessity and a habit." Such appeals are, as the practice has shown, as unsuitable a means of keeping GDR citizens away from receiving Western programs and to shield them against undesired influences as the ban on switching on radio and TV for the soldiers.

12356

CSO: 2300/375

POLAND

POREBSKI ON PARTY CONGRESS PREPARATIONS

AU221211 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Apr 85 p 3

[Interview with Tadeusz Porebski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Anna Pawlowska: "More Work and More Courage"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] At the recent accountability meetings you and other party leaders kept saying that the accountability campaign was in a way an introduction to preparations for the 10th party congress, which is at least 12 months away. Congress preparations have no doubt begun at the central level, but there are still very many issues to be tackled. What is the meaning of these preparations?

[Answer] The primary meaning is that preparations in question must originate within the bowels of the party--the primary party organizations and party activists. This is how the ninth congress originated. It was based on critical analyses and on the resolve to make improvements in the party's base and in the mass of party members. These criteria are also valid under normal statutory conditions. They should be because this is in line with the properly understood democratic centralism.

This is why I think that the recent accountability campaign should be regarded as a signal for an all-party discussion on the contents of the 10th congress resolution, which will gradually be reinforced and concretized by the pre-congress theses and the draft long-term party program. However, there is nothing to stop the party organizations from setting out to define their contributions to the congress on the basis of their experience, considerations, and postulates.

[Question] This is all right, but the ninth congress resolution has still not been implemented by a long chalk. Could this be ignored?

[Answer] Under no circumstances. However, these issues are interconnected, because the conclusions drawn from the implementation of the ninth congress decisions must be the foundation on which we will prepare for the 10th congress. Convening a new congress does not mean that we start doing everything from scratch. That is why during the accountability campaign we attached such importance to carrying out an all-party and a most penetrating

analysis of the implementation of the ninth congress decisions. What we wanted to achieve was to fathom the nature of various processes, to discover the sources of weaknesses, and to identify that which promotes action.

[Question] Do you really evaluate the accountability campaign so highly?

[Answer] I have spoken of our intentions, but I will also speak of results. I would like to stress that our evaluation of the campaign is still incomplete, that voivodship party cells and the Central Committee are still working on it, and that it is too early to finally formulate it. I would also like to state that during the 20th Central Committee plenum, which will take place soon, we want to work out a rather comprehensive and objective image of the party as it is now. This plenum will be preceded by a detailed inspection of four voivodship party organizations. This will not be an investigation. What we want to do is to exchange views on the range, style, and effectiveness of work, to arrange for discussions in the internal commissions of party cells, to analyze the party's influence in various communities, and to organize other actions of this kind.

[Question] Is the purpose of these measures to make party organizations and cells realize what is still to be done to implement the ninth congress resolution and to learn from the entire postcongress period the lessons for future party work?

[Answer] Precisely. We should realize that the implementation of local resolutions was the chief concern of party organizations during the accountability campaign. This was a very valuable feature in view of the fact that it took us a long time to ensure that party organizations stop dealing exclusively with "high policy" and attend to the issues affecting their immediate surroundings. However, there is no doubt that during this campaign party organizations lacked the skill of viewing their affairs in relation to the ninth congress line and resolution and against the background of the activities of the entire party.

[Question] What about the practical tasks for the remaining months of this accountability term and what about a list of topics for pregress discussion?

[Answer] The tasks and topics I have mentioned here do not exhaust the list of what should be done. I think that the most necessary action we must now take is to ensure that party work outside our party ranks is decisively more extensive and militant. I wish to stress that restricting party work to party ranks is not a new weakness or a result of the crisis. It is a heritage of many, many years and various different circumstances, but no doubt the recent years have intensified this weakness. Without trying to excuse anything, we must bear in mind that not so long ago the condition of the party was such that all our forces had to be mobilized to enable us to pull ourselves together internally. However, this turning inward for the exclusive purpose of "self-improvement" cannot last forever. We must start right now overcoming this turning inward effectively and consciously.

It is no secret that the party is absent from many social, professional, and local communities or that its presence in them is merely formal. Party influence in many communities of our intelligentsia must be restored. We must greatly strengthen the party in rural areas and promote party work from scratch in the places in which we live. And if we are honest we will admit that in most industrial enterprises, even in those in which we have large and truly militant party organizations, there are as a rule units, departments, and services in which our influence is feeble and hardly noticeable. Filling these gaps calls for large-scale planned, considered, and honest efforts.

Party organizations are not always aware of the fact that wide and militant activities among nonparty people is the only way to ensure a natural and healthy growth of party ranks. Statistics show that during the accountability campaign every third party organization was able to admit a party candidate. I am convinced that those party organizations that know how to work among nonparty people have been able to increase their ranks.

It is natural that we have recently been counting new party members so keenly. After all, we have at last an opportunity to count them.

However, we should be just as keen in counting those who are prepared to accompany us in our march for a time. They do not have to accompany us in our march to all our goals. It will be enough if they are with us toward a single goal, one that makes socialism a reality in the material, civilizing, and moral sphere.

CSO: 2600/768

POLAND

ROLE OF PARTY IN ACADEMIC CIRCLES DISCUSSED

PM301329 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 11 Apr 85 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Dr Jerzy Surowiec, first secretary of Wroclaw University PZPR Committee, by Jerzy Jacyszyn; date, place not given]

[Text] [Question] The PZPR report-back and policy-formulating campaign at the University of Wroclaw, during which the subject of the party's role and the principles of its functioning within a higher education establishment were discussed, has recently come to an end. How did the debate go?

[Answer] It is not possible to describe here all the trends in the debate. I think, however, that two of them deserve particular attention. The first concerns the methods by which political leadership should be exercised in our milieu. In selecting these methods it is necessary to consider not only the general assessment of the current sociopolitical situation but also the traditional outlook and customs obtaining in academic circles, including the importance attached by those circles to such values as creative freedom, autonomy, tolerance of the views of others, and so on. The question is further complicated by the fact that we as a party are interested in cultivating those values, although we cannot and should not tolerate instances in which they are abused to demonstrate antisystem attitudes. The question of the idea of accord and struggle was also discussed in this context, particularly the question of putting the idea in concrete terms. We are here concerned about our political credibility in the academic community, we must set high academic standards for ourselves and then realize those consistently. For it is not possible to discourse with any sense on maintaining any satisfactory influence and significance for the party at a higher education establishment without academic credibility attaching to those teachers at higher education establishments who are also party members. It now seems especially pertinent to reiterate this truth since a number of comrades seem to overestimate the importance of legislative regulations as a guarantee of the party's role in our academic community.

[Question] You have mentioned the prestige of academic researchers. How does it stand at present? Is there any study being done on it at the moment?

[Answer] It is hard to give an unequivocal answer to this question, because I am not familiar with the results of any relevant investigation. I have not

even heard of any being carried out. Consequently, I can only rely on my own impressions and my experience of contacts with people outside the academic community. And so I think that the crisis of the established system of values which we are witnessing now and which we try to counter could not fail to affect the social prestige of individual professional groups. The loss of interest in higher education courses is also an indirect proof of the falling status of our profession. More evidence is provided by the numerous satirical programs in which the assistant professor figure has replaced the college graduate and in which the former now features as regularly as dwarfs in fairy tales. Finally, as we consider the question of an academic researcher's prestige we must not forget that public opinion laid some of the responsibility for the social and economic crisis at our door also. Despite these negative phenomena our society still respects academic degrees and titles. Whether this respect is maintained and intensified will depend on ourselves, on the social usefulness of the results of our research, and on their scientific consequence. This is nothing new, but we must not forget this old truth. Another question concerns the popularization of the results of our work. I believe that the demand for openness in our public life applies also to our own milieu.

[Question] One often comes across the view that our academic prestige stands no chance of any development in the face of the difficulties with access to foreign literature, problems with research apparatus, and so on.

[Answer] We cannot deny facts. Those barriers to our development are widely known. But I think that they are too often used to excuse ordinary inactivity. How easy it is to justify one's lack of invention by citing objective difficulties! That is a dangerous phenomenon and the party must oppose it. But it is also our task to try to eliminate those barriers wherever they really occur. After all, to acknowledge them is not at all the same thing as to demonize them.

[Question] During the report-back and policy-formulation conference of our primary party organization much stress was put on the need for integrating the academic community. Is that at all possible considering the many different political views, the creative freedom, and the autonomy of college bodies? Can we talk about any common goals shared by the intelligentsia in higher education establishments?

[Answer] Certainly, although it may be very difficult to get them clearly articulated. The academic milieu is internally differentiated, with various demarcation lines crossing within it. To perceive only those which are political in their origin would be to oversimplify matters, although they, too, should be remembered. In many cases, however, the decisive divisions may be "sector-based," following either from the differences in the interests of various types of higher academic establishments or from different academic disciplines within individual establishments. At other times the division into fully fledged and assistant research workers may prove to be of more relevance. But awareness of a considerable differentiation occurring within the milieu does not exonerate the party from the obligation to point out targets which would serve to integrate the whole academic community. I regard

this as one of our most important tasks, both on a macroscale and within each individual higher education establishment. I should like to make it clear here that I do not see myself as an advocate of some specific class solidarity in higher education establishments. But I believe that, contrary to views expressed by some comrades, we must not treat our goals in a maximalist manner.

In the case of my organization, the interest of the university is regarded by us as a common plane for getting the community integrated and as a criterion for evaluating all activity and, in certain circumstances, also the attitudes of certain individuals. In my opinion that interest is not a particularistic one. It involves the tasks fulfilled by the university in the field of training academic personnel and carrying out research work, and the university's role as an ideology- and culture-generating center. This could be put, in slightly simplistic terms, as follows: What is in the university's interest is not exclusively the university's own interest.

Some people might regard this formulation as too general. I do not share their view. Experience tells me that often in difficult, even conflict situations the concept of the good of the university has turned out to be a most concrete concept. Others again might think that that is not enough. I do not accept that view either. You have to start somewhere. If we want to be effective, we must respect the realistic, not the ideally desirable, conditions of our work. Life itself confirms the correctness of my attitude. As an example, I should like to quote the university Senate resolution, issued at the end of January this year, on joining in work on the restoration of Wroclaw's old city quarters. This is an important project for the university, but not for the university alone. I do not think any reasonable person can question the social significance of that initiative or the public usefulness of the work which will result from it. We are already noting examples of positive reactions to that resolution, also on the part of those academic researchers whose political attitudes we find--to put it mildly--doubtful. Is that too little? I do not think so.

[Question] In discussing the problems of academic circles we must not ignore the fact that the concept of the intelligentsia has become outdated. Should we not carry out an in-depth, theoretical analysis of the intelligentsia and its different groups, so that we can formulate new tasks and new functions for the intelligentsia?

[Answer] I agree with that view. But the question is important not only from the academic but also from the political viewpoint. The lack of a clear definition of the term "intelligentsia" throws into question the effectiveness of our influence in the circles regarded as belonging to the intelligentsia, as well as our work within them. Various directives may prove infeasible, recommended tasks impossible to carry out, and the formulated goals hardly attractive enough. We are, after all, witnessing a practically uncontrollable expansion of professions which have been traditionally regarded as belonging to the intelligentsia group (such as state administration officials). On the other hand, high qualifications are nowadays required in many occupations, justifying the refusal to keep them within the status of workers' occupations

(such as the technical intelligentsia). We are all well aware of the significant differences between different levels of education existing even within the same "intelligentsia groups." The above are just a few problems which demand theoretical analysis preceded by appropriate study.

[Question] Considering these problems, will the approaching 19th plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, scheduled to be devoted to the questions of Polish intelligentsia, its place and role in Poland's socialist development, and party policy toward intelligentsia circles be competent to answer the numerous questions and doubts?

[Answer] That is the hard question. I am by nature optimistic, but I think in realistic terms. In any case, I do not believe that it is the plenum's brief to answer all questions and solve all problems. If it were so, what would be the tasks of individual primary party organizations?

The fact of the need to convene such a plenum is heartening in itself. Our intelligentsia plays too important a role in the life of the country, and the tasks it is currently facing are too essential for our highest authorities to let its problems remain outside their area of interest. They should, moreover, be viewed as one complex whole, as a problem facing one complete social stratum, instead of being split into individual issues affecting its particular segments and relating to select questions of our public, cultural, or economic life. I think this plenum is awaited not only by party intelligentsia. We owe it not only to ourselves but to our general public to convene it. The question of the directions and methods of our activity in intelligentsia circles is not an exclusively intraparty issue.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

CSO: 2600/766

POLAND

CIOSEK EYES GOVERNMENT-TRADE UNION RELATIONS

AU241412 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Apr 85 p 6

[Excerpts] The 10 April INTERPRESS press conference for foreign journalists in Warsaw was attended by Trade Union Affairs Minister Stanislaw Ciosek and Adam Dunalewicz, head of the government press bureau. Below is the transcript of this conference:

S. Ciosek: I am ready to introduce this conference, but if you want to ask questions straight away, please do so.

Kara Livanov, Bulgaria: I will be the first to ask a question. Have there been any changes or will there be any in price and incomes policy, following the government-trade unions negotiations?

Ciosek: The most important decision on price and incomes policy is that it should be developed and negotiated in good time. This policy will be one of the key elements of the 1986 central annual plan and of the coming 5-year socioeconomic plan.

A joint government-trade union team, which includes trade unionists, some ministers, representatives of the Sejm's socioeconomic council, and scientists, has been set up. We want to jointly work out ideas on how to stem inflation, keep prices and wages down, achieve a balance between the flow of goods and purchasing power, and promote the state's social policy. In a word, we want to tackle all the issues of special interest of trade unions.

This is the basic outcome of our recent meetings and talks with trade unionists. Very soon we will negotiate with them the plan for 1986 and for the coming 5-year period. We will try to settle the problems that interest all our working people.

Davis Storey, REUTER: All the same, it seems that trade unions take the view that they are being treated a bit superficially. Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA has published angry and indignant articles [artykuly] on price hikes. Trade unions actually decided that they would not talk with you about these issues. They would rather talk with Mr Barcikowski and General Jaruzelski. Any comment?

S. Ciosek: Unlike you, I did read that article [artykul] carefully. There was an article like that on the way in which the price operation was finally carried out. It is true that trade unions were displeased with the methods of price hikes, and this was mentioned in the communique on their meeting with General Jaruzelski. That is why, as I have already said, we have decided to jointly tackle the issues of prices, wages, incomes, and living standards in really good time.

The article in question did probably dramatize the events to some extent and carried a sensational title: "What Happened During the Night From 1 to 2 March?" I spoke with trade unionists during that night and experienced some very hot moments. As is usual in such situations, people were carried away by emotion. However, common sense did prevail, and, as you know from the communique on the meeting with General Jaruzelski and later on with Vice Premier Messner, agreement was reached after all. The article in question was written in a sensational manner and deviated in places from events. All the same, it did reflect the climate and temperature of all our talks about prices.

Bernard Margueritte, LE FIGARO: Do you think that some aspects of trade union activities may be objectionable? For example, they tend to play up to the public and in the case of Mr Siwak [Politburo member], to the workers class. On the other hand, they attack the government for some dogmatic trends and assert that if there are problems, they have been caused by the economic reform, by departure from the principles of socialism, and so on. There have been such assertions. Do you think such tendencies are truly dangerous?

S. Ciosek: Keeping an eye on your publications, I must say that you are especially sensitive to this subject, Mr Margueritte. Many dangers are facing trade unions and other bodies, and we often speak about them. There are two primary dangers threatening trade unions. The first is for trade unions to become an organization that makes claims and nothing else--an organization that submits demands to the government without paying any regard to the country's ability to meet them. This is the easiest way for trade unions to operate and really a great danger. The second danger is for trade unions to become merely a champion of the state administration. This would also be very bad for them because they would lose their representative character and authenticity.

The leadership of trade unions and the party as well as the government try to conduct their cooperation with regard to legal solutions and political practice in such a way as to ensure that there really exists an independent trade union movement that is a socialist movement. This is the origin of the dangers you mentioned, dangers which are created by too many claims and petitions, by the manifestation of a one-sided trade union model. It seems to me that the trade union leadership is aware of these dangers and is effectively preventing them.

Christopher Bobinski, THE FINANCIAL TIMES: My question is about the article on pluralism in the trade union law. There was a time when the government was [word illegible] expunged. Now trade unions are trying to have it

expunged. But the government seems to be dawdling on this issue for reasons only known to itself. Any comment?

S. Ciosek: As Mr Bobinski accurately remarked, trade union pluralism is a very strong topic of trade union activities and of the statements made by trade unionists at all levels. Some 50 percent of socialized economy employees are trade union members. I will once again present our viewpoint, which you all know. I have presented it many times already. We view pluralism from the angle of the strength of the working masses' representation. A homogeneous and strong representation is not a representation if it is disrupted through competition. This was best demonstrated by examples in the past few years when trade unions were mutually entangled in mutually competitive activities. I think we should learn from this.

Taking into account the universal demands of trade unions, which now represent an enormous segment of the Polish workers class, we are able to assume that trade union pluralism merely weakens the strength of trade unions as a representative. This may sound strange when said by a representative of the administration, but we are really interested in the strong and genuine trade unions that are an important element of social control over administration, that can guarantee that the dramatic events of the past few years will not recur, and that are a kind of a warning system for the government and a platform on which the government and the working people can meet one another and solve all difficult and even the most difficult social problems. Such a platform can be provided by strong trade unions.

That is why we are interested in strong and genuine trade unions and are against attempts to disrupt their unity and to weaken their strength as a representative. This is what trade unionists are now publicly saying, without concealing their views, and the government agrees with them.

Douglas Stanglin, NEWSWEEK: You have said that some 50 percent of workers are members of trade unions. Will you try to increase the number of trade unionists or are you concerned that only 50 percent of workers are trade unionists?

S. Ciosek: Although it may seem immodest, I will quote what I have said on some other occasion. If I were not a minister of a people's and workers government I would be interested in a very weak, disrupted, and divided trade union movement. However, our situation is such that we are greatly interested in a strong, genuine, and true representation of the workers interests so that the decisions we make are the best possible and are accepted and understood by society. We are interested in strong and genuine trade unions. Nor are we indifferent to their numerical strength, but this is not a matter for the government and administration. This is a matter for trade unions themselves--for their program, activities, and methods.

I would not like to be accused of meddling in trade union affairs, but when I watch--as a trade unionist and citizen--the programs of trade unions, the lines of their activities, the way they think, and the implementation of their programs it seems to me that there is every hope and opportunity for the

numerical strength of trade unions to go up. It may seem masochistic to stress the need for strong trade unions in view of the fact that strong trade unions do not make governing any easier, but we think that such a situation is far healthier than it was before and after 1980. We have said so many times already.

Graham Bradley, THE WASHINGTON POST: The law of October 1982 provided for trade union pluralism. Why was this law formulated in this way and why is it that in 1982 you agreed to trade union pluralism and now you are against it?

S. Ciosek: It is not true that I held different views in 1982. One of the last articles of that law suspended the operation of trade union pluralism. If this operation was suspended--and I agreed with this suspension--then there must have been a good reason for it: the damage done to Poland, to its economy and to other areas as well.

We said that for the good of Poland we would not allow this to happen again and this is what the 1982 law ensured. In 1982 we also said that we were going to change the trade union law only where this was most necessary. This law was adopted by the Sejm at a time when trade unions were suspended and when they could not express their views fully. That is why we did not want to change the trade union law thoroughly. But today trade unions are no longer suspended and are able to freely express their views.

The draft law will be subjected to public discussions, and nothing will be done in secret. We will adopt the solutions that are most advantageous in the eyes of the working people to their interests and to the interests of our fatherland. Nothing has been made final as yet. As for pluralism, I have already stated my personal view on it, but I did not cite any regulations or any articles from the new trade union law.

C. Bobinski: Do I understand that the new draft trade union law contains an article on pluralism?

S. Ciosek: This problem is being and will be discussed. Personally I am in favor of the views represented by trade unions, but the shape of the trade union movement will be determined by trade unionists themselves. It will be, above all, their voice that will be taken into consideration. Mr Bobinski, this is where I place a full stop on my statement.

D. Storey: What about investigations into the assault on Father Zalewski in Krakow? Have investigations established that perhaps Father Zalewski was assaulted by the same criminals who had kidnapped and tortured a French businessman named Castaing?

A. Dunalewicz: According to information in my possession, energetic investigations continue in Krakow to clarify all the circumstances of this event. Attorney Andrzej Rozmarynowicz, who represents the victim, continues to participate in all investigations. It is too early to say whether the assault on Father Zalewski can be connected to the assault on Castaing. Since other particulars of the event in question are still lacking, it is baseless to indulge in any suspicions now.

Kevin Ruane, BBC: Perhaps I have understood wrongly, but you have said in connection with Father Zalewski that all suspicions are unjustified. Could you say what kinds of suspicions you have in mind exactly?

A. Dunalewicz: Mr Ruane, as soon as all particulars of the event in question are known and clarified we will talk about the matter. One is hard put to talk about any aforementioned suspicions.

Michel Castex, AFP: What progress has been made in investigations into the case of Mr Castaing in Krakow?

A. Dunalewicz: I have nothing new to add in this case. Please consult the communique issued by the prosecutor general 2 or 3 days ago. It contained up-to-date information on this case.

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POLAND

HOWE VISIT TO POPIELUSZKO GRAVE, SOLIDARITY RECEPTION VIEWED

AU250927 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-21 Apr 85 p 8

[Commentary signed "WUZ": "Twenty Minutes of Great History"]

[Text] The message of the recent Warsaw visit by British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe boils down, above all, to the fact that this was another sign of the Western states' departure from fruitless attempts to isolate Poland. That is also how we have handled this visit in our reports and commentaries. However, we have not occupied ourselves with gestures which the British head of diplomacy performed outside the official program, in other words, in his spare time, so to speak, and which showed that one still cannot speak in the past tense about efforts to interfere in Poland's domestic affairs.

And there would be no reason to return to these gestures were it not for the publicity given to them by part of the Western press. The Western press does not consider such "details" as what the official talks on the international situation and on the development of Polish-British relations have brought. Almost the only focus of attention remains the unofficial part of the visit, especially the British minister's visit to Father Popieluszko's grave and the invitation to the British Embassy of a group of former Solidarity activists, including B. Gieremek, J. Onyszkiewicz, and S. S. Bratkowski.

In the face of the commotion surrounding these events, we too ought to present our stance. As far as the visit to the cemetery is concerned, it is difficult to believe that the only and main purpose of this was to bow before the grave. For it emerges from the reports by the Western press and agencies that it was through the efforts of the British Embassy in Warsaw that the unofficial part of the minister's program became generally known. As a result, the planned aim was achieved, in other words, gathering at the cemetery a group of people who, with a delight that was rather unsuitable for such a place, chanted words that are pleasing to every Briton: "Long live England!" (By the way, this very slogan was chanted prior to the tragedy of September 1939, when the Poles were under the illusion that the Western allies would come to their aid.)

However, as far as the minister's talk with the former Solidarity activists, which is supposed to have lasted 20 minutes, is concerned, it is really

difficult to read the Western press' serious-toned speculations about what the subject of these talks could be without laughing. I rather think that the subject of union liberties was avoided because it would be tactless in the presence of a minister from a country where throughout the whole of last year the striking miners were not handled with kid gloves. Therefore, I tend to think that this was a very casual talk. Who knows if, for example, Stefan Bratkowski did not demand permission to speak in the House of Lords, where he would have presented a motion to overthrow the present chairman of the Association of Journalists of the PPR and give this post to Sir Stephen....

Despite appearances, this is not an absurd assumption because, for example, the West German TAGESSPIEGEL presents the declarations following the talks with the British minister thus: "One of the gentlemen joked that if, contrary to expectations, somebody offered him an important state post, he would most willingly apply for the honor of being ambassador to Rome...."

Well, well--we have disregarded this meeting so much, and yet these conversants with Western ministers live, sustained by very important and concrete matters....

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POLAND

DAILY HITS WESTERN REPORTING ON CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

AU231119 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-21 Apr 85 p 8

[Commentary by Wlodimierz Zralek: "An Attack on the Church?"]

[Text] In its dispatches from Poland, the Western press carefully notes every piece of public criticism of the attitudes of a part of the clergy and church hierarchy. Some of the things that are regarded as sensational political events are a small number of our publications that express concern over the Vatican's evolution during John Paul II's pontificate. It is almost the rule here that the authors of the Western reports do not consider the merits of the subject in hand, but restrict themselves to a repetition of ideas about an alleged sharpening of the attitude of state authorities toward the church.

It is difficult not to see a real paradox in this. It is believed that an area of topics which is regularly touched upon in Western countries should be excluded from criticism in a socialist country. This also applies to countries that are regarded as the most devoutly Catholic ones and where very divergent views are expressed by the Catholics themselves, both laymen and clergymen.

Let us take France as an example. Four publications, of which three are connected with the French Church, announce the publication of an entire series of books presenting the views of spokesmen of the so-called theology of liberation, being propagated in the Third World in particular by progressive priests. Reporting this planned publication, the rightwing daily LE FIGARO says that the French Church, or at least a sizable section thereof, has criticized the Vatican's condemnation of the theology of liberation as being a "Marxist deviation" and expresses reservations toward John Paul II's words spoken during his recent Latin American journey: "You know well that there is no shortage of those who abuse the teaching mission that has been conferred on them by the church and who preach not so much Christ's truth as their own theories. There is also no shortage of those who distort the evangelical message and attune themselves to political ideologies or strategies while seeking an illusory terrestrial liberation which neither belongs to the church's teachings nor leads to the real welfare of mankind...."

One can foresee that representatives of varying streams inside the church will continue to hold disputes about the above issue for a long time. In the nearest future, this dispute is bound to be aroused by the fact that President Reagan has recently regarded asking for the pope's support for Washington's Central American policy as possible. However, Reagan's declaration was firmly denied by the papal nuncio in Washington. It is typical that such an orientation by the Vatican could be referred to.

Another example showing that the church's place and the orientation of its supreme helmsman are subjects not regarded as taboo at all is Italy. Almost immediately after the Italian Parliament's ratification of the new concordat, there was a great debate on the problem whether and to what extent the church may intervene in political life. An opportunity to do so was provided first of all by speeches by several bishops and then by the pope himself, who, during a conference of Italian lay and spiritual Catholics in Loreto, delivered a speech that was construed by a part of Italian public opinion as support for the Christian Democratic Party during the self-government elections scheduled for May.

Of course, the sharpest reaction of all has come from the leftwing parties, whose declarations often contain statements that could be regarded as sacrilege in Poland. I will therefore refer only to the opinion of someone who cannot be regarded as an enemy of the church because he is an eminent Catholic writer--Luigi Accattoli. He wrote in *CORRIERE DELLA SERA*: "Bishops and popes have not made appeals like this, especially just before an election, since 1968, in other words, for 17 years. This novelty of the pope's appeal was immediately seized upon by the conference participants, some of them loudly applauded the pope while most of them were reserved and seemed to be shocked. The allusion to 'times' when the 'supreme good' of the country requires a political unity by Catholics in a reference to 1948, when the church said that it is the duty of Catholics to vote for the Christian Democrats."

The fact that believers themselves do not regard as a taboo at all everything connected with the church may also be illustrated by the results of an opinion poll recently held in Spain. According to this poll, which we discussed in an article in the Spanish paper *CAMBIO* 16, and then reprinted by our own *FORUM*, as few as 87 percent of Spaniards regard themselves as believers. Yet, at the same time, a sizable part of them question many church assumptions, including some basic teachings. For example, only 37 percent believe in the pope's infallibility, and 49 percent doubt whether the pope is always right, even when speaking purely about theological matters.

It is worth giving some data illustrating Spanish criticism of the church. Forty-one percent of the believers there think that the church desires moral authority but has inadequate knowledge of the modern world and current conditions of life, whereas only 27 percent possess the opposite view, and 32 percent had no comment to make. Asked whether the church should be a source of inspiration for fair government, 43 percent said no and 32 percent yes. As far as energetic church participation in political life is concerned, 67 percent of those polled were opposed to this, and 12 percent approved of it.

One could give more such examples. But I will stop at the above ones. For even with this limit, there are bound to be news agencies which will answer even the most general review of attitudes of believers in Catholic Western countries with the stereotype dispatch: Another attack on the church in TRYBUNA LUDU.

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POLAND

DAILY ATTACKS DISPLAY AT EASTER CELEBRATIONS

AU231059 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20-21 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] PAP--Tens of thousands and perhaps hundreds of thousands of the faithful partook in more than just religious experiences during last Easter in at least a few scores of Catholic churches. We think it worth recording this fact so that future historians who probe into our times do not find it too difficult to establish what political streams, trends, and attitudes were followed by the Catholic clergy in 1985. What Easter experiences do we have in mind? Political experiences, of course: the ones with unambiguous implications.

In some churches in Warsaw, Wroclaw, Wloclawek, Walbrzych, Torun, Szczecin, Siedlce, Przemsysl, Poznan, Gniezno, Ostroleka, Piotrkow Trybunalski, Lublin, and in many other places the traditional tomb of Christ during Easter was made into such a political show that it is with shame that we write about it. But we have to write about it if only for the reason that we are being told all the time that it is the state that fights the Catholic Church and not vice versa.

The overriding idea of politics around Christ's tomb was a plastic and artistic argumentation in favor of the thesis professed by some clergy that since their liberation from Hitlerite slavery, the Polish people have found themselves in the same situation in which they were in 1939-45 and that, God-fearing and religious-minded as they are, they are being assaulted by the combined forces of an internal and external satan.

That is why the favorite and ever present decoration of this year's political setup of Christ's tomb at Easter consisted of barbed wire and, to a lesser extent, of a chain, although there was plenty of that, too. Other frequent decorations included the national flag, the eagle with a crown on its head, empty vodka bottles, Solidarity streamers, the letter "V" and dates from Poland's modern history, such as 1981 and 1772 (Poland's first partition).

To avoid being accused of too acute generalizations, we will describe more closely the way in which some tombs were arranged. In the Jesuit monastery in Piotrkow an outline of the map of Poland made of barbed wire was placed on a white linen in front of the tomb, in addition to a cross hung with the white-red flag shaped into a "V" sign. In a Walbrzych church a barbed wire

outline of the map of Poland and the badge of fighting Poland were placed on a side altar. Our younger readers probably do not know that this badge was used during the struggle against the Hitlerites. In the church at May Day Street in Wejherowo an eagle was seen crowned with barbed wire against the background of the following dates: 1981 [martial law imposed], 1939 [Soviet invasion of Poland], 1944 [Soviet-backed government set up in Poland], 1772, 1793, 1795 [dates of Poland's three partitions by Russia]. In the Poznan cathedral an old tree wrapped in a white-red flag and coiled around with barbed wire was placed at the tomb. The tree no doubt symbolized Poland.

The barbed wire suggested that Poland is a vast prison house from which it is impossible to break out. Could it be that those who are responsible for these tomb decorations have had difficulties in going abroad? We all know that several millions of Poles go abroad from this "prison house" every year.

The decorators of the tomb at the Krolewska Street church in Lublin were very inventive. They erected a brown cross and placed on its left side a quotation from a statement made by a church dignitary: "The idea of Solidarity will help us live to see the Polish miracle of resurrection." Really? If we think back we will see that toward the end of 1981 this idea was pushing us into a tomb rather than anywhere else. Under the cross the decorators placed a red (?) coffin, whose lower part bore the inscription "renewal" and whose lid bore the letters PRL [the PPR]. But this was not all. A stick with an empty vodka bottle protruded from the coffin. A streamer with national colors was spread by the side of the coffin....

The bottle motif could also be seen at the tomb in the Jazgarzewo Church. The artist in question was very economical: He used a white-red barrier pole, from which he hung a bottle of Vistula vodka and a mock television set. This artist seemed to say: He who crosses the borders of Poland should know that it is a country flowing with vodka, which is its national emblem. In the Miarki Street church in Kamienna Gora a 250 cm tall doll dressed in white and red could be seen with one arm raised in a "V" greeting and with the other arm holding a white-red flag bearing the inscription: "You can smother the truth, but you cannot strangle it."

In many churches the tomb decorations referred to the drama that had taken place near Wloclawek in October last year. This was natural, but it is less natural that some people exploit this drama by means of bad plastic resources and incite not so much aversion as hatred against those who wear uniforms, especially the militiamen.

We think that we have cited enough examples and that it is no doubt superfluous to explain all those symbols and their moral and political implications. We are free to assume that there are enough citizens in our country who are able to evaluate in their own way that which some priests produced for their faithful flocks.

24 May 1985

POLAND

RAKOWSKI SPEECH AT TRADE UNION GALA

LD251059 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Apr 85

["Excerpts" from speech given by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski at a "gala meeting" on 20 April marking the 80th anniversary of the class trade union movement and the 40th anniversary of its work in Poland--recorded; no video available]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades: Both yesterday and today a great deal has been said in this auditorium and beyond its confines about your trade union movement, about the role it has played in the history of the Polish workers' movement, about the role that has been and is being played by the class trade unions active within the textile, clothing and leather industries. Mention has been made of your predecessors, with respect and great gratitude, who in the years of national servitude and ruthless economic oppression set about organizing a class union movement. They displayed courage and bravery, readiness to make sacrifices, in the name of the defense of the most fundamental human rights, and first and foremost in defense of the dignity of working people, the creators of all material goods. The class union movement in Poland did not come into being yesterday, nor was it created by any circular, decree or resolution. It was born of the will of the workers, of their class instinct, which demanded that they unite in order to defend the interests of working people. This class union movement will always remain an inseparable part of the organized Polish workers' movement. The road we have been walking for 40 years now has not been, and is not, an easy one. Inscribed into the history of the class union movement--which also means that of your unions during the past 40 years--are praiseworthy and noble deeds and events. But there is also no shortage of defeats, failures and unpleasant disappointments. In 1980 the social position of the union movement in Poland was subjected to tough criticism--both justified and unjustified criticism--criticism with both honest motives, steeped in concern for the interests of the working class, and that with dishonest motives. I do not think I could make use of this solemn gala meeting to engage in polemics with those who, for dishonest motives, initiated an attack on the whole union movement and began a phase of total criticism of it, but it seems to me that there is one thing that is worth talking about today.

This should be done in order to satisfy the need for historical truth, not to satisfy ambitions, but the historical truth. I am of the opinion that the

creative, civic and workers' activities of trade unionists in People's Poland, the trade unionists of Lodz, Radom, Czestochowa, Zyrardow, Bielsko-Biala, the trade unionists of the western and northern territories, are insulted by each person who attempts to prove that the trade union movement which existed up to 1980 dealt only with the distribution of parsnips and onions. Without diminishing the deformations which occurred in the conception of the position of the trade union movement in Poland and became particularly acute in the seventies, we have to defend, against dishonest critics, the lasting achievements of trade unionists both in strengthening the foundations of People's Poland, in the shaping of class consciousness, development of social and production activity, and increasing the level of general and professional culture within the working class. One must not allow a diminution of the contribution of hundreds of thousands of selfless trade union activists at factory level, who, irrespective of what was going on upstairs, if I may put it this way, bravely looked after the interests of their work comrades. Independent and self-governing trade unions in light industry are part of the revived and strengthening, month by month, trade union movement. The reborn trade union movement is already today the most wide-ranging mass organization of the working people. According to the latest data there are 5.2 million members in its ranks and every month about 100,000 new members arrive. One can therefore say that this already most wide-ranging mass organization of the working people in Poland will tomorrow be even more wide-ranging. Already we can say today, and state it in public for the whole of Poland and the world, that the period, or the phase, of hesitation and reflection on what was going to come out of the revived trade union movement and what its shape was going to be, is now a closed phase.

The existence of the reborn trade union movement constitutes a great and important political fact, its significance does not rest in the sphere of struggle, or caring for the interests of the working people. The reborn trade union movement is an important factor in the consolidation of Poland's position in the European, world and socialist countries community arena.

There are also those who, let us say, feel programmed dislike of trade unions. The causes of the programmed dislike vary; there are political causes, but also those which result from personal experience. People joined Solidarity, but then it appeared that it was not a trade union but, as they said a social movement and in fact a political movement. Hence some people came to the conclusion that since they were disappointed with the unions which existed up to 1980, since they were disappointed with Solidarity, they said leave us alone, we will not join any union.

Well, one can understand this kind of reaction; one can understand, but it is a pity that those people, working people, are not still with you, and in fact are not yet with us. I think that we should trust to the passing of time. Time heals and levels prejudices, sulkiness and disappointments. I think that sooner or later those who today are standing on the sidelines will come to us, to you, because there is no better platform than trade unions on which the leading position of the working class can be realized--the leading position of the working people in socialist Poland. The older among you here in this room will probably recall a saying that General Anders [head of Polish Government

in London during the war] was going to enter Poland on a white horse. Well, there is neither Anders nor a white horse. Instead, there is People's Poland, there is manufacturing industry, there are educated sons of workers and peasants and there is Poland with secure borders--Poland which has been enjoying peace for 40 years. I hope that those who are so steadfast, who likewise keep waiting for something, do not find themselves in the same situation as those who 40 years ago kept repeating incessantly that at any moment Anders was going to enter on a white horse. I think that also those who are so steadfast and who are active in work enterprises will be convinced by life that the position that they have taken is false and leads nowhere. If today we were to ask those very people what are they waiting for, then in the various newspapers we could find the answer that in essence they are waiting for the downfall of the Reds. They are waiting for the commies--that's what they call us--to get tired and yield. The question arises--to whom? To a group of rowdies? To those whom in 1981 we were calling partners whilst among themselves they spoke of us as opponents? It is not possible to wait us out. It is possible to wait us out in the physical sense, as we are mortal, but socialism cannot be waited out. Socialism is and will remain Poland's future. And those who support the ones who are so steadfast in the stupid, insensate obstinacy should know that. Anyone can stand on the sidelines. To say no is also easy. Living on delusions, hopes and expectations that the West will help, that it will force Jaruzelski--force him to do what one really does not know--this also requires no effort. It is common knowledge that there are certain politicians in the West who cannot forgive us, even today, because on 13 December 1981 we put an end to their hopes, the hopes which they linked with the continuing process of the weakening of the Polish state. Since then, day after day, using Radio Free Europe [RFE] and a significant number of bourgeois journalists resident in Warsaw, they have been attempting to convince Europe that Poland remains an unstable country, full of gunpowder. This is a cynical game, as a matter of fact, because those who decide what RFE is to say and what the above-mentioned journalists are to write, what silly things and trifles they are to report to world public opinion, know only too well that Poland has departed far from the times when everything was crumbling down and trembling.

They know the indices testifying to the economic revival, they know that the reborn trade union movement is dynamic, that it is not a phony, and despite this knowledge, every day, indefatigably, they keep repeating that we are a country which is in incessant turmoil. Only those who are deaf and blind cannot notice what the stakes are in this game, played with marked cards. Anticommunist centers in West Europe and the United States are very interested in having in the heart of Europe, a frustrated and constantly dissatisfied Polish nation. This is the point, this is the goal which defines their support for antisocialist and anticommunist forces acting in Poland from among which many are recruited to this steadfast group.

Today, on the eve of May Day, the searchlights of Western propaganda have again been trained on Poland. On May Day in Poland--this is what they expect--working people are to demonstrate, falling victim to the ringing slogans proclaimed in the West, showing that we continue to be a troubled country. I think that on 1 May the working world and people in Poland will reply

unambiguously that the hopes of the Western anticommunist centers and Polish anticommunists attached to such active demonstrations--which are supposed to show that we cannot afford calm and good sense--that these hopes will be frustrated. Our plans in the economic, political and social spheres stem from fidelity to the well-known call: Socialism--yes, deformations--no! They are ambitious plans which at the same time are difficult to carry through. We can implement them; we have a chance of emerging into the daylight. But this calls for the existence of several guarantees: one of which is the consolidation of social peace in Poland. We have already come a long way from the period of fearing for the future, of endless strikes, of empty shops, and fear of one's unheated flats. Poland now is different from the Poland we recall from the early days of December 1981. No small part of the credit for this belongs to the nascent union movement, to the working people of your town, of your industry and industries.

The influential, mass union movement that is being created in Poland, which is characterized by a real sense of coresponsibility for the country and yet is at the same time critical of various undertakings by the state and economic administration which it deems to be erroneous, false or imperfect--that kind of union movement is extremely necessary. It is necessary for today and for tomorrow. I think we can say that in Poland this very union movement is part of a great, significant historic experiment. We are convinced that the aktiv of the new trade unions--the aktiv which is constantly expanding--has a sense of responsibility and, I do not hesitate to say this, a sense of its historic mission.

Victory Day is approaching. In connection with this, I would like--although a soiree imposes certain limits, sometimes inflexible, or too inflexible--I would like to reminisce. I appeal to the memory of that generation. I appeal to those who remember the Lodz of those days. What a totally different city is the one which we look at today, although there is still no shortage of old buildings and no shortage of districts or parts of districts that we cannot be proud of. But it is, dare I say it, a totally different city. People too are different. And I think that in exchanging greetings on the occasion of Victory Day, we should remember this wonderful road--irrespective of all weaknesses, errors and mistakes--that has been traveled by the workers' Lodz since 1945.

This also applies to Poland as a whole. The memory of this road alone will allow us to overcome the difficulties which are ahead of us, one must also say at the same time that these are difficulties which can be overcome and which it is necessary to overcome. What is more, we are not the first nation to go through these kinds of difficulties. I think that in connection with this coming 40th anniversary of the capitulation of Hitlerite Germany, looking at the road traveled by People's Poland, we should be optimists. We count on the Lodz working class, the trade unions, and on you present with us here in this room, we count on you together with us, breaking, evening out and reducing this often unjustified pessimism and creating conditions, through your work and commitment, for the necessary optimism--necessary to us and our followers. I wish you this most sincerely. [applause]

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POLAND

ARMY DAILY ATTACKS REAGAN ON BITBURG

AU231405 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20-21 Apr 85 p 2

[Article by General of Division Wladyslaw Polanski: "Against R. Reagan's Baleful Decision--A Slap in the Face for Veterans of the Liberation War"]

[Excerpts] In May of this year the entire progressive world will celebrate with utmost solemnity the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism. World War II, the hardest and most terrible war in the history of mankind, the war that had been unleashed by fascism, and a total war, ended in Europe on 9 May 1945.

World War II has left an enduring imprint on the memories of nations, especially of European nations. The Polish people have been especially affected by this war. Through this war progressive mankind has learned that nothing is more important than peace and that all aspirations and activities should be governed by this overriding value.

However, there are forces in the world that do not want to acknowledge the results of World War II. President Ronald Reagan has decided that during his May visit to the FRG he will go to the Bitburg military cemetery, which is the burial place of almost 2,000 soldiers of the Hitlerite Wehrmacht and the Waffen SS formations.

The decision made by the President of the state that was a member of the anti-Hitlerite coalition has caused natural concern and categorical opposition on the part of the veterans who had fought for the victory over fascism and on the part of the victims of Hitlerite extermination. If for the sake of "conciliation" the President decided to pay homage to the "knights" of predation and genocide and if only later on he has decided, under the determined pressure exerted by world opinion, also to visit Bergen-Belsen, the place of the mass annihilation of the victims of these "knights," then his decision is to be classified as shameful.

It is a pity that when deciding to place a wreath on the graves of Hitlerite soldiers, R. Reagan forgot about his countrymen who had fallen in the not far-off Ardennes in the battles against fascism, which he now wants to bless. It is a pity that he has passed over in silence the fact that some numbers of the U.S. soldiers were taken prisoners in the Ardennes and were bestially

fusiladed by the members of the Waffen SS formations, some of whom are certainly buried at Bitburg.

We Polish veterans regard the U.S. President's decision not only as a slap in the face of the veterans who fought for the victory over fascism. We regard it as baleful for the future because it is an attempt to undermine the results of World War II, to rehabilitate fascism, and to relegate into limbo the mass murders committed inter alia by the SS. We also regard it as a recognition of the plans and goals of West German revisionism and revanchism and as an expression of the U.S. Government's support for them.

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POLAND

ORZECZOWSKI INTERVIEW ON INTELLIGENTSIA

AU301232 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Apr 85 p 3

[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo candidate member and rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, by Andrzej Golaszewski: "There Is No Progress Without the Intelligentsia"--date and place not given]

[Text] Predicting and guiding the processes of social development and enriching life with humanist ideas and values is one of the tasks of the intelligentsia, especially of creative intellectuals, scientists, and representatives of opinion-forming communities. Professor Marian Orzechowski spoke to our reporter about the status and aspirations of intellectuals and about their role in creating prospects for social, political, and economic life.

[Question] Do we know what our present-day intelligentsia, with a liberal arts education represents and what it does?

[Answer] This strata of the intelligentsia helps to create spiritual values, ideas, and views, without which there would be no progress. It shows us the roads to the future and stimulates people's sensitiveness to beauty and ugliness, the good and the bad, and to what is humane and inhuman. This has always been so and will always be so as long as there exists the social division of work and functions in a community. However, under our political conditions new phenomena continue to appear, and we must take them into account when we discuss the role of the communities with a liberal arts education.

The intelligentsia with a humanities education was, after the partitions and before the rebirth of our state, the most numerous group of the Polish intelligentsia and enjoyed intellectual predominance, which was the result of its genealogy. The term of intellectuals with a humanities education was understood as including scientists, artists, journalists, writers, teachers, and politicians; the reason for this was Poland's economic backwardness. This state of affairs still prevailed in the first years of People's Poland. It was precisely thanks to this that the intelligentsia with a liberal arts education was a sort of national institution, which was a substitute for the absent state and its agencies.

[Question] Now when we have a state, the position of the intelligentsia vis-a-vis the structure of society and vis-a-vis the institutions that function within society has changed....

[Answer] It goes without saying that intellectuals are active in these institutions, often support and run them, but they are no longer in absolute charge of society. They are an important component part--and no more than a component part--of the specialized institutions of public life. We have political centers, parties, and the PZPR--the leading force of our society--which play the role that at one time was monopolized by the intelligentsia as such and as a group in society. It is worth noting that the PZPR plays a leading role also because it is an intellectual body, creates new ideas and views, propagates them, and wins the people for them. The role of the intellectual body and creator of values, views, and social progress is also played by representatives of the worker and peasant classes. This is an expression of the intellectual promotion of the working classes and a kind of demolition of the previous monopoly of "professional" intellectuals. This does not in any way diminish their role. It merely attests to the fact that segments of society continue to get closer together and that barriers between them are disappearing.

[Question] There is no doubt that the structure of the intelligentsia itself has changed....

[Answer] Representatives of natural sciences, engineers, and technologists are becoming more and more the group that dominates our intelligentsia. This is the mark of the progress that has occurred in our country. It is precisely that which takes place in the communities of creators of technological progress and organizers of production processes that exerts a decisive influence on our socioeconomic progress and Poland's future. However, this does not mean that the intelligentsia with a humanist education is less important and has lost its significance, because there is no socialism without development in culture and socialist awareness and without the propagation of humanist values. Scientific-technological progress and its links with the humanist values of socialism also make it necessary to solve very many important social and humanist problems, of which we have no knowledge. Man's attitude toward technology, the requirements placed on him and his qualifications, changes in the structure of society, new forms of social awareness, great threats posed by civilization--these are just some of these problems. This is an enormous field for the humanist intellectuals to work in.

[Question] Is this compatible with these intellectuals' aspirations and ideas about their role in society? After all, they are not a homogeneous group with uniform views.

[Answer] This is true. As a group, these intellectuals propagate differing views, ideas, and values, which may agree with our system and its goals, but which may also oppose our system. That is why when we speak about aspirations of various segments of our intelligentsia we have to realize that these aspirations are very differentiated, although, subjectively, they can be placed under a common denominator, such as the "service to the idea," the

"service for the people," the "preservation of national identity," the "watch over national traditions," and so on. The saying that two people who talk alike may not mean the same thing is applicable to these intellectuals.

[Question] What justified aspirations may the creative intelligentsia have in a situation where there exists a full, developed society organized into a socialist state?

[Answer] The point is, above all, to give as much of oneself as possible so that the nation may exist and develop normally. On the intelligentsia rests the duty to serve the nation. This is not and need not be a duty devoid of compensation. The intelligentsia has the right to expect from the state and its institutions and political forces the kind of material, political, and psychological conditions necessary to encourage the best use of its intellectual potential for the good of the nation and state. It has the full right to expect from society recognition and prestige for those values with which it serves society. Therefore, it has the natural and completely justified right for fair compensation for measurable and socially useful work. It has the right to hold aspirations concerning a cadres policy that values real citizen-like and ethical qualifications, and not formal, individual and collective criteria, sympathies, and antipathies. Without all this, the intelligentsia will be pushed onto the sidelines, and then the entire organism of society could not function normally. The most recent history contains examples of trying to create socialism without the intelligentsia, and also possesses the negative results of trying to do so.

[Question] Nevertheless, Polish society is divided in terms of class, politics, and world outlook. The intelligentsia is also divided. In the face of this, what are the objective possibilities for the intelligentsia's activity?

[Answer] The genealogy of this social group and its functions so far also form the framework for its present and future activity and attitudes. Right now we are at a turning point, as it were, at a time when the following question is widespread: What next? How should we proceed in order to answer the call put to us by development? Will we be a backward country of the socialist community and the "suburb of Europe," or will we, clearly aware of all the dangers and obstacles, mobilize our huge reserves and possibilities so that Poland is not a backward country and the suburb of Europe? These are dilemmas, but they are also spheres of action with which the duties of intellectuals are connected.

Therefore, we expect creative attitudes, a transformation of reality, the creation of something new, above all, in the spiritual sphere; but not only this, because after all these ideas, values, and views later materialize in technical inventions, new works of culture, and so on. The point is also to disseminate the works of intellectuals, and the achievements of society, educate man, and bring up new generations. Without this society cannot exist. I believe this is a very important factor determining both the status of intellectuals among the intelligentsia, and their possibilities of action.

[Question] Some intelligentsia milieu have been disappointed in the political authorities and have displayed withdrawal symptoms. For many intellectuals too, Marxism has lost, as it were, its attractive nature as a methodology, ideology, and theory explaining the world. Some of them are seeking support among other patrons than the state.

[Answer] Yes, this is all true. This should be viewed with concern and unease. This does not serve the nation, nor strengthen it, nor help solve the tasks that determine its future.

Some intelligentsia circles have become lost and have cast in doubt their own state in its present political shape, as well as the future. This becoming lost and doubt must be understood. For there have been too many phenomena against the essence of socialism in our social lives to avoid the possibility of becoming lost or doubtful. However, a part of the intelligentsia has gone further--it is combating its own state; undermining its socioeconomic, political, and moral fabric; and harming its good name instead of improving and strengthening it. In this way, this part of the intelligentsia is renouncing its own traditions dating from the time of the partitions and later, when it regarded the state as a special value without which the people could not exist for long. There is no room for compromise in this issue. Neither can there be any misunderstanding and indulgence.

Some intellectuals have doubted Marxism and have succumbed to trends that smell of old age. But some are already noticing today that this path leads to a blind alley. It gives no chances for scientific progress and a real insight into the increasingly complex social reality. Marxism continues to be this kind of chance--Marxism free from its encrusted anachronisms and alien additions. It is worth noting that some of these intelligentsia circles who have departed from socialism and the state and have sought and found other patrons are not experiencing disappointment. The new patronages are becoming uncomfortable. This is no wonder, because these new patrons have never recognized creative freedom. Instead, they have gone down in history as intolerant toward people who think differently and their works.

[Question] The conclusion from this is that we must build a bridgehead reaching out to the creative intelligentsia and recognize and respect its collective honor.

[Answer] Appreciating the intelligentsia's role, place in the social structure, and social functions, the PZPR, as the party which leads the state, is conducting dialogue with it while performing its unchanging strategy of accord and struggle for the good of the nation and state. This dialogue is special, just as the intelligentsia is special. The party fully recognizes creative freedom, without which the intelligentsia could not serve the nation properly. The limits of this freedom are defined solely by their usefulness toward the state and its humanitarian values. The creative and humanitarian intelligentsia is a collection of creative personalities and unique individuals. It is a world of its own. That is why the state authorities are increasingly resorting to individual and personal dialogue. However, this dialogue, being principle-minded and even sharp, must possess a commonly approved basis and conditions; in other words, it must serve the common goals--the nation, socialism, and socialist renewal in Poland.

POLAND

BEDNARSKI DISCUSSES INTELLIGENTSIA ROLE

AU301201 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] PAP--The 24 April plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Tarnow discussed the ideological work of the voivodship party organization and tasks for party cells and organizations in ideologically influencing the working intelligentsia in Tarnow Voivodship. The plenum was chaired by Stanislaw Opalko, PZPR Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Tarnow, and was attended by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

The plenum discussed ideological and propaganda work, evaluated the effectiveness of ideological-propaganda activities, mapped out the sociopolitical situation of the intelligentsia, and, against the background of this, worked out specific tasks of party work.

H. Bednarski spoke of the place and role of the intelligentsia in the country's sociopolitical life and stressed that the intelligentsia's problems are reflected in the party's ideological work. This is one of the reasons for the importance of the 19th party plenum, he said, which will take a comprehensive look at the affairs of the Polish intelligentsia. This is because today there are in Poland no issues and problems that can be solved under the prevailing conditions without the participation of the intelligentsia. H. Bednarski also recapitulated the nationwide discussion about the intelligentsia prior to the 19th plenum.

The Tarnow plenum resolution formulated detailed tasks of current ideological and propaganda work and of party influence on the working intelligentsia's communities against the background of economic and social realities and the aggravated ideological-political struggle.

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POLAND

WARSAW RADIO COVERAGE OF SEJM DELIBERATIONS

Morning Session Speakers

LD291228 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 29 Apr 85

[Text] The Sejm assembled 2 hours ago. Over now to our parliamentary reporter, Zbigniew Krajewski:

The deputies' bill on the Constitutional Tribunal was proposed, on behalf of the Extraordinary Commission, by Deputy Witold Zakrzewski. Describing the work on the bill, he said it meets the needs of the consolidation of the constitutional rule of law and is an institutional guarantee of the constitutional system and the hierarchy of sources of the law, of the supremacy of constitutional over legal norms and of legal norms over those at a lower level. The Constitutional Tribunal, the deputy said, is without doubt a body outside Parliament, although it is set up in its entirety by the Sejm; and Parliament, expressing the sovereignty of the nation as a representative body, is not a juridical body. For this reason, backing it up with an institution of a juridical nature not only does not weaken, but strengthens its role. It facilitates the demarcation of boundary lines between two separate functions: government and legislative, which emerge from its role as the supreme representation of working people.

A debate then began. Deputy Sylwester Zawadzki said the tribunal will be an exceptionally important body, both from the viewpoint of protecting citizens' rights as well as the interests of the state. It will contribute to increasing the prestige of the constitution and of ordinary acts. It will be a body serving to raise further the prestige of the Sejm. Just as the Supreme Administrative Court exerts control over the administration in the decision-making sphere, so the Constitutional Tribunal will exert control over the administration in the sphere of its legislative activity.

On behalf of the PZPR parliamentary group, Deputy Sylwester Zawadzki declared full support for the bill.

Next to speak was Deputy Emil Kolodziej, on behalf of the ZSL parliamentary group. He stressed that the preparation and proposal of the bill on the Constitutional Tribunal should be assessed within the framework of political and legal-governmental activity in its entirety, undertaken in recent years.

by the party and the ZSL and with the cooperation of the SD. This activity consistently aims at implementing the program of socioeconomic renewal; at streamlining the functioning of our state in all fundamental areas, including that of the rule of law.

The SD political party, on whose behalf I am speaking, will vote with satisfaction in favor of the bill, together with the amendments proposed by the Extraordinary Commission, said Deputy Piotr Stefanski, who was next to speak. He stated: The bill on the Constitutional Tribunal will be a significant step on the road of socialist renewal continued by the leading forces of society and the leading force of the state: the PZPR, with the support and active cooperation of its allies.

Next to speak was Deputy Jozef Ozga-Michalski of the ZSL. He protested President Reagan's plan to honor SS-men buried in Bitburg cemetery. He said the world tribunal must have an opinion on this issue, because the memory of the victims cannot be repudiated. Speaking on the antipeace strivings of the NATO forces, he stressed the significance of extending the Warsaw Pact. Deputies applauded his speech.

Next to speak was Deputy Witold Jankowski of PAX. He focused on some aspects of the bill on the Constitutional Tribunal, stressing its importance. He also referred to the speech by Deputy Jozef Ozga-Michalski, expressing solidarity with the protest against the planned homage, an affront to the memory of the victims of Nazism, which the President of the United States wants to pay to SS-men.

Next, Deputy Rudolf Buchala said: The most important thing is for every new institution, which is set up to strengthen the rule of law, to operate on the basis of the standards which guarantee that rule of law. The tribunal is meant to contribute to government by law, to strengthen that government, and this is the most important task for the tribunal's members.

The list of speakers ended here. The deputies passed the bill unanimously.

There is a break in the Sejm proceedings at the moment. Our next report will be at 1400. Back now to the studio.

'Anti-Social Behavior' Debate

LD291349 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 29 Apr 85

[Text] Good day, ladies and gentlemen. Here is the Sejm hall. In the second item on the agenda, Minister of Justice Lech Domeradzki put forward a report on the implementation of some acts concerning preventing of manifestations of antisocial behavior. He stated that various signs of antisocial behavior were glaringly evident at the turn of 1980-81. The root causes of these are not purely economic. They are also grounded in the disruption of the social system of values. Society's natural reflex action is to demand that crime is more effectively combated and that phenomena like alcoholism, the evasion of work or education, the demoralization of children and young people and drug

addiction is prevented. The 2-year period during which the acts on preventing manifestations of antisocial behavior have been in force has confirmed the correctness of the approved regulations. Since they have been introduced, much valuable experience has been accumulated. There have been concrete results in curbing the phenomenon of social parasitism, in halting the sharp rise in alcohol consumption; probation work among juveniles is also becoming considerably more effective.

At the same time, over those 2 years, various distortions and shortcomings have come to light. Some legal solutions have not proved fully effective. Not all legal grounds for counteracting antisocial behavior have been fully used (neither). Presenting the concrete results on applying the Act on Upbringing in Sobriety and Combating Alcoholism; the Act on Procedure Regarding Persons Evading Work and on Procedure Regarding Juveniles, the minister of justice stressed that the government regards the problem of curtailing antisocial behavior in society as an important area of legislation aimed at stabilizing the political and socioeconomic situation.

The deputies' discussion was opened by Stanislaw Gabrielski, who said among other things: While being aware that implementing the acts concerning the fight against manifestations of antisocial behavior is a long-term process, one cannot however ignore the fact that they are not being observed. The binding regulations of the Act on Upbringing in Sobriety and Combating Alcoholism have not yielded the tangible results anticipated. The provisions of the act should be more rigorously applied to people evading work. The results of the Act on Procedure in Juvenile Cases cannot give cause for full satisfaction either. Workplaces must play a much greater role in counteracting antisocial behavior. They should have there an organized system of permanent upbringing influence by colleagues, and by social and youth organizations. The PZPR parliamentary party, Deputy Gabrielski said, shares the assessment and conclusions contained in the material put forward and declares its readiness to take an active part in implementing the recommendations worked out during today's debate.

The deputies' discussion is continuing. Eleven speakers are due to take the floor in this item of the agenda. The next report from the Sejm will be at 1600.

More on 'Anti-Social Behavior'

LD291535 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 29 Apr 85

[Text] Good day, ladies and gentlemen. Here is the Sejm studio. The break is just over at Wiejska Street; the bell has just gone, calling the deputies to the debating chamber. In a moment the Sejm will resume deliberations, to continue the discussion on the minister of justice's report on the implementation of some acts concerning the prevention of manifestations of antisocial behavior. In the debate so far, the deputies have pointed out the following matters:

Speaking on behalf of the ZSL parliamentary party, Deputy Jadwiga Cichocka stated among other things that the 2-year period which has gone by since the acts on combating antisocial behavior were passed has confirmed that the assumptions of those acts were correct and there is no need to change them. It is however essential to act more consistently and effectively in implementing the acts, both the one on upbringing in sobriety and combating alcoholism and the one on procedure in juvenile cases and regarding persons who evade work. The legal regulations must be supported by broad and energetic social activity, Deputy Jadwiga Cichocka said.

Next, speaking on behalf of the SD parliamentary party, Deputy Barbara Koziej-Zukowa pointed out that one of the obstacles to implementing the acts concerning antisocial behavior is the lack of appropriate rehabilitation and resocialization facilities. She came out in favor of amending the act on the procedure regarding those persons who evade work, primarily toward simplifying the procedure and introducing the appropriate sanctions for such persons. The fund for combating alcoholism should help upbringing in sobriety and cultural, as well as medical, activity.

Giving support to the proposals put forward by the government, the SD parliamentary party stresses, Deputy Koziej-Zukowa said, that the organized system of activity, particularly that of upbringing, does not succeed in effectively overcoming socially dangerous phenomena.

Next to speak was Deputy Zbigniew Zeilinski, who stressed that preventing and combating alcoholism, the disintegration of family life, with children and young people's incapability to adapt; and also the shaping of the right attitude to professional obligations and honesty in the work; these are a set of tasks which must be a subject of interest to many organizations and social institutions.

Land Management Bill

LD291736 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 29 Apr 85

[Text] Here is our Sejm reporter:

After the deputies' debate, in which 11 speakers took the floor, the Sejm noted [przjal do wiadomosci] the report by the minister of justice, and bound over appropriate Sejm commissions to prepare conclusions from debate in order to submit them to the government.

Next on the agenda, Deputy Henryk Kostecki presented, on behalf of Sejm commissions, a draft law on land management and expropriation of property. At the base of the system of land management and expropriation of property, Deputy Kostecki said, lies the fact that reserves of state land earmarked for construction sites are being exhausted; also, conditions of purchase are being altered. Active management of land earmarked for the development of towns and for construction in rural areas demands the creation of state land resources for present and future needs.

To this end the draft law sets up means to acquire state land resources, its essence is to acquire land by way of agreements without resorting to compulsory measures. Expropriation is treated in the draft as an exceptional form for obtaining land. The draft law proposes, among other things, to make alterations in calculating charges for use of state property, which should rationalize land management. The draft is subordinated to the principles contained in the law on people's councils and territorial self-management. The provision to separate the land earmarked for construction and land earmarked for agricultural and forestry production has been approved. Discussion continues.

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POLAND

NOWE DROGI REBUTS SCHAFF'S THEORIES

AU261433 Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 3, 1985 signed to press 20 Mar 85
pp 87-95

[Article by Sefan Opara and Jerzy Siwiec: "On the Theory of Socialist Revolution"]

[Excerpts] An interesting book written by Professor M. Orzechowski [PZPR Politburo candidate member] has appeared in bookshops. The book deals with important ideological issues.

The tenor of the book is polemical, and the author disputes certain widespread views, arguing that they groundlessly aspire to being consistent with classic thoughts. Who is it that M. Orzechowski criticizes? It is Adam Schaff and his views, which were extensively popularized by Polish periodicals in 1981-82 and which Schaff presented most fully in his book entitled "The Communist Movement at the Crossroads," which was published in Vienna in 1982. The thrust of A. Schaff's book is best demonstrated by the fact that its introduction was written by Manuel Azcarate, a herald of Eurocommunism and a former member of the PCE leadership. Azcarate is especially delighted with the fact that Schaff approves of the main theses of Eurocommunism's total criticism of real socialism and that he sees the salvation of the communist movement in Eurocommunism, which has now been compromised and which has wrought so much damage in some West European communist parties.

In his book, M. Orzechowski criticizes Schaff's views not only because of their international echo, but primarily because these views reflect some stereotyped ideas of modern revisionism. According to M. Orzechowski, Schaff does not advance original concepts, but merely repeats various slogans based on Eurocommunist and revisionist theories and shores them up by Polish examples. As M. Orzechowski argues, Schaff's views "insinuate" themselves into the historical process of the revision of the views held by Marx, Engels, and Lenin and do so under the slogans of "creative Marxism" and "a return to Marx." They insinuate themselves into the long disputes about revolution and socialism--their nature, their contemporary meaning, and the roads leading to them.

The assertion that the socialist countries were established as a result of "original sin," unlawfully, and in a way that was incompatible with the

classic vision of revolution plays the central role in Schaff's views. Schaff adduces his own interpretation of Marxism to back up this assertion. The issue of "maturity for revolution" emerged during the first years after the Great October. As M. Orzechowski points out, V. I. Lenin engaged in disputes about these issues as far back as 60 [figure as published] years ago, arguing that revolutions break out because of objective social contradictions and not because of the analysis of various quotations.

This shows that Schaff's "discovery" of the theory about immature conditions for socialist revolution is old hat. In the first pages of his book M. Orzechowski describes Schaff's "theoretical-political syndrome" and cites verbatim his main theses, countering them with the true views of the classics of Marxism on the issue of evolution and its sources and forms. M. Orzechowski's polemical arguments include the significant assertion that, despite the thesis that Marx entertained only a single "rigorous" view on socialist revolution, it is a fact that the views of the classics on this revolution went through an evolution and took one shape during abstract deliberations and another shape during the analyses of specific revolutionary events.

M. Orzechowski also takes a closer look at A. Schaff's theory of "prosperity," the immediate spread of which was supposed to be the indispensable condition for the success of socialist revolution and its goal and to ensure that the budding socialist society can be protected against a return of the "old filth." M. Orzechowski sets out a number of crucial observations in this matter.

First, the Marxist concept of revolution regards as its original source the contradictions between society's material forces of production and the relations of production. In "German Ideology" Marx and Engels noted that this contradiction must have each time exploded in the form of revolution and must have assumed various secondary forms such as clashes between various classes, conflicts of awareness, a struggle of ideas, a political struggle, and so on. From the viewpoint of the thesis contained in "German Ideology" that "historical clashes," that is, revolutions, are caused by the "contradiction between the forces of production and the forms of people-to-people relations," the observation that for a revolution to break out in a country "it is not necessary for this contradiction to be carried to the extreme in that country" is most crucial. In line with Marx' thought, the contradiction that could lead to revolution can appear when the prospect of "prosperity" and of the possibility to share it is far away. Revolutions break out for various reasons, including the need to ensure that the sharing out of the material and spiritual goods in production is more equitable and that more of these goods are produced.

Second, Schaff fails to see the economic goals of the socialist revolution. In the context of Marx' thesis about a rapid or immediate distribution of the fruits of prosperity, these goals cease to be crucial and are set aside. However, this is not consistent with the spirit of the Marxist notion of socialism, not even of the one that is supposedly good only for "the countries that are rich and economically highly developed." Contrary to this

view, Marx assumes that socialist society "will not develop on its own foundations" and that in the case of even the most highly developed communities it will not be possible to meet needs in line with the universal principles of prosperity, but in line with each individual's work.

Third--this is the most crucial point--the thesis about the "sharing out of prosperity" shifts the center of gravity toward the distribution of goods and not toward their production. In his "Criticism of the Gotha Program" Marx stressed that "it was altogether an error to turn so-called distribution into something of chief importance."

M. Orzechowski also notes that Schaff treated in an abstract manner the term "high degree of development of production forces" and makes crucial reservations on this matter. According to Marx and Engels, economic development is dynamic, and this is why it is impossible "at any time" to draw general conclusions from "these extremely complicated and ever changing factors." The most important of the economic factors that make up that "high degree of development of production forces in most cases operate in secret and then suddenly come to the surface with an overwhelming force." That is why, as a rule, it was possible--as in 1848--only retroactively to formulate conclusions about the maturity or immaturity of socioeconomic relations for communist revolution.

The conditions and premises of this communist revolution are more profound in "German Ideology" than might seem from Schaff's arguments. The classics present communist revolution as a radically new element in the process of man's liberation from the influence of the socioeconomic and political forces that enslave him.

M. Orzechowski also stresses that, although socialist revolution as viewed by Marx and Engels is primarily a function of the maturity of objective socioeconomic conditions, the theory of the "maturity" or "immaturity" of a given country for socialist revolution and socialist transformations was not developed and defined in a categorical and unambiguous manner and did not assume its ultimate shape.

The texts written by the classics show unequivocally that it is impossible to reduce "maturity" or "immaturity" for socialism to economic formulas alone, because many other factors are involved, factors that are "ultimately" determined by the level of development of production forces. These findings are also significant when a theoretical interpretation is made of the sources and course of the revolution in our country.

Criticizing real socialism, M. Orzechowski writes, and ascribing to it the "original sin" and its numerous "mortal sins," Schaff views it from a distorted angle--from the angle of crisis. As a result, the nature of real socialism is reduced to errors, shortcomings, and deviations from theoretical principles. Schaff uses the method of far-reaching generalizations made from the position of a Marxist doctrinaire who revokes the letter of Marx' statements. He creates an image of real socialism in colors that are decidedly dark and gloomy. Although he magnanimously concedes that there exists

"socialism at the base," that is, that the basic means of production have been socialized and the propertied classes have been liquidated (which demonstrates that it is possible for society to exist without capitalists and private property), the effect of all this is very small in view of the fact that whatever is outside of this base (in material-technical terms) is assessed as in conflict with the nature of socialism. Whatever socialism has produced in the sphere of social awareness and attitudes and of relations among social classes and groups has been tainted by the "original sin" and by "mortal sins" and has been presented as a "necessary evil."

As M. Orzechowski stresses, the real socialism that Schaff has criticized and rejected is of his own construction, albeit not an original one. He has created it out of monstrosly exaggerated fragments of the past or passing reality and has woven it into the visions conjured up by Orwell and Koestler. This elaborate construction, which Schaff has presented with unusual fire, is out of tune with the present reality of every socialist country. This construction was created out of distortions and real difficulties that do not always result from a country's "immaturity" for socialism. It was created out of the elements pooh-poohed by Schaff such as resistance of the antisocialist forces; their methods of struggling against nascent socialism and of imposing on it civil war, "white terror," sabotage, and "psychological warfare"; and imperialism's unceasing struggle against socialism. This is an image in line with which subjective errors and reprehensible deformations of the idea of socialism are taken for socialism.

This image shows the degradation of people's social character; the strangulation of democracy and freedom in all its manifestations; the omnipotence of the soul-less bodies of power that like horrible octopuses paralyze the entire fabric of society; violence; informing on others; the role of uniform thought; and "dictatorship of the proletariat" or, in the best event, "dictatorship on behalf of the proletariat."

M. Orzechowski notes that Schaff's image of real socialism does not include its "prosaic" elements such as, for example, economic development; liquidation of the sources of chronic unemployment and of the areas of poverty and want; the social and political advancement of the working masses of workers and peasants; cultural advancement illustrated by the elimination of illiteracy, which was a burning problem and a barrier to social progress in most socialist countries, and by the development of mass education, national culture, and science; and new relations between social classes and nations.

We do note the importance of real problems and theoretically and practically significant questions posed by Schaff, M. Orzechowski stresses. These questions concern among other things the psychological and social processes of socialist changes, of which the Marxist social sciences are too feebly aware in theory and practice; the humanist meaning and values of socialist revolution and socialism; the role and place of the individual in socialist society; and the ways by which state authority and the party's leading role can be permanently legitimized in the eyes of society.

M. Orzechowski also stresses the importance of the party's struggle against the features of social ills and the need to search with the help of Marxism-Leninism and its materialistic and dialectical method for answers to the new questions that were not posed to the classics by the social reality and practice of the workers movement in their times.

M. Orzechowski writes that the distorted image of socialism is in a way useful for the practice of the socialist countries, because it draws our attention to the fact that not everything that now exists in real socialism is actually socialist and deserves our approval. It was a serious political, theoretical, and especially, propaganda error to speak of socialism as reality when it was still not constructed, when the extent to which socialist changes were carried out in the individual spheres of social life (the base, the superstructure, economics, politics, culture, the class structure, nationality relations, international relations, and so on) varied from case to case, and when the name of socialism was given to what was not socialism, to what had nothing in common with socialism, and what compromised and destroyed it.

As M. Orzechowski writes, that serious and prolific error is being gradually but effectively eliminated. This and many other processes that were initiated in Poland after August 1980 and were sanctioned and intensified by the ninth party congress and subsequent party activities are proof of the baselessness of the thesis about real socialism's inability to reform itself. They are proof that this thesis is antisocialist and counterrevolutionary in nature. At the same time, the PZPR's practice, which is designed to implement that which it is necessary and feasible to implement under prevailing conditions, points to the correct meaning of "socialism's ability to reform itself."

M. Orzechowski's book supplies us with the arguments that are especially crucial in the situation of the present ideological struggle.

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POLAND

WARSAW TV NOTES EX-UNIONISTS' PARTICIPATION IN MAY DAY

LD291604 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 28 Apr 85

[No video available]

[Text] In the Western press, particularly in West Germany--for example, in the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE and the Cologne STAAT ANZEIGER in articles devoted to Polish issues--there have been articles about a strange sermon that was delivered in the St Brygida Church in Gdansk by a certain ex-chairman of a former union. The preacher was persuading his followers to organize so-called parallel celebrations of the labor day.

Western radio broadcasters in Polish, as always in similar cases, are trying to disseminate this idea, although they shyly mention the changing views of the author, being concerned to preserve the remainder of objectivity in their programs and because of some listeners' good memory.

The Voice of America recalled on 22 April that 2 years ago Lech Walesa said that the working people have the right to celebrate May Day in the way they consider appropriate. One can also mention earlier advice given to Polish workers that instead of participating in May Day manifestations they should go picnicking [pojsc na zielona trawke]. These instructions were compatible with the general political line of the highest leadership of the former union. Many times they implied that working class traditions were alien to them; so was the word "socialism," which was eagerly crossed out from all documents, even from the statute. These people did not want to remember that it was under the slogan of socialism that workers in Poland and all over the world demonstrated for dozens of years on the 1st of May.

Now, however, facing the shortage of other possibilities to sow unrest, some of the bankrupt pseudo-activists would like to join the holiday of the working people.

CSO: 2600/763

POLAND

JABLONSKI HAILS NEWLY APPOINTED PROFESSORS

AU291119 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Apr 85 p 5

[Text] PAP--Speaking at a ceremony in honor of 119 scholars who had just been awarded the title of professor at the Belvedere Palace in Warsaw on 25 April, State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski referred to criticism about an "excessive production of professors."

Should this be a problem? Should we be disturbed by a large number of the most highly qualified teaching cadres?

Questions like this in today's times, when we are faced with great social transformations and when science is directly penetrating all spheres of life and determining the future of nations and states, can only be rhetorical. However, other questions, doubtlessly of greater importance, are emerging. For example, does the numerical growth of these cadres cover the most essential educational disciplines from the point of view of national interests, and if so, does it do so to the necessary extent? To this one can reply that all disciplines are necessary. True, but there are also disciplines without which we are threatened with a further widening of the technological gap between our industry and that of the developed countries. Therefore we must make sure that we do not lag behind.

Finally, there are matters which cannot be disregarded under any circumstances--how is our scientific potential being used and do our results suit existing possibilities? These are only two examples out of many.

We have been promising ourselves, H. Jablonski continued, that educational institutions would be able to use their autonomous powers in order to raise the standard of education. The situation with cadres seems to encourage this. The number of professors has risen quite considerably, while at the same time the number of students is lower than before. The cadres have become less burdened. It is enough to glance at published statistics. At the same time, H. Jablonski continued, we see a deterioration in the efficacy of studies instead of an improvement. Many students do not complete their studies within the prescribed time and, what is just as ominous, we cannot be satisfied with the results of a considerable majority of those who do pass their examinations. A so-called universal "state grade" reigns--grade three.

And yet one cannot even dream about a proper development of our country when specialists with higher education do not possess ambition, a hunger for knowledge, a desire for innovations and an ability to assimilate them, imagination, and an ability to think scientifically. How can we talk of scientific civilization, scientific-technical revolution, and progress when those on whom this progress depends to a huge extent do not possess the above-mentioned essential values?

There are many reasons behind the present state of affairs. Some of them definitely exist outside educational institutions, but this does not free us teachers from the duty to use all our possibilities.

Finally, H. Jablonski paid his congratulations and best wishes to the newly nominated professors.

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ENCLOSURE

POLAND

ZYCIE WARSZAWY NOTES KOHL'S BELSEN SPEECH

AU261500 [Editorial Report] Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish on 22 April 1985 carries on page 6 an 800-word Bonn dispatch by Zbigniew Ramotowski on FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl's speech at the 19 April function to commemorate the victims of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp during the war. Ramotowski says that Kohl, concerned about the domestic and foreign reaction to West German attempts to diminish the import of the 40th anniversary of the victory in World War II, spoke in Bergen-Belsen "in the way that not only the victims of Hitlerite lawlessness and their relatives, but also the entire progressive public in his own country have waited for for a long time."

Stressing that Kohl "condemned Hitlerite fascism and its crimes," repeated Theodor Heuss' statement that "shame will never cease to be alive," and assured the world that all Germans bear "historical responsibility," Ramotowski writes:

"Listing other death camps, including Auschwitz, Treblinka, Majdanek, and Sobibor, and stressing that not only the Jews were victims of Hitlerite fascism, the chancellor also drew attention to the particular sufferings and loss of life of the Soviet peoples and to 'the crimes committed against the Polish people.' He expressed the wish for 'completing a reconciliation with Poland' in the same way as was the case with France."

Ramotowski also relates that during the function an official in the U.S. Embassy in Bonn read out President Reagan's special message, which "clearly sought to ease the reaction to his recent statements and to his decision to visit the Bitburg cemetery of the Wehrmacht soldiers" and in which the President expressed his respect for the victims of Hitlerite fascism, stressed that such crimes must never recur, and stated that he would visit Bergen-Belsen.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

BARCIKOWSKI ON 'EXTREMIST ELEMENTS'--Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA on 12-14 April published the following statement made by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, during a meeting in Krakowska Kuznica [Krakow Forge] club: "Do really extremist elements exist on both sides? Certainly, they do. After all, there is much clamor about the provocative conduct of some former activists of Solidarity, KOR, or the Confederation for Independent Poland and of some young bellicose priests. What about the other side? Yes, it also has its extremist elements! After all, Piotrowski [chief defendant in Father Popieluszko trial] did not commit such a repulsive crime out of hooligan motives. He committed it out of a specific political motivation. And do you think that there are no people who are moved by similar political motivations? That there are such people is attested to by the fact that we, the leadership, are accused at times of not being tough and determined enough. But what kind of determination do they have in mind? That represented by Piotrowski? We all must oppose such tendencies in the name of the rule of law and legality and we must apply the law regardless of the people's political orientation or affiliation, or military uniform, or cassock." [From the Press Review] [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 27 Apr 85 p 3 AU]

JARUZELSKI, JABLONSKI PRESENT MEDALS--On the eve of May Day, citizens of Warsaw paid homage to the fighters for freedom and democracy and to prominent activists of the Polish and international workers' movement. Representatives of authorities, workers' movement veterans, and delegations from the capital's factories, schools, and youth organizations laid wreaths and bunches of flowers in front of the "execution gate" of the Warsaw Citadel. Wojciech Jaruzelski, Henryk Jablonski, and Kazimierz Barcikowski met with a group of 100 meritorious workers in the Belweder palace. During the ceremony the representatives of the highest party and state authorities presented medals of the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic to the workers. [Excerpts] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 30 Apr 85 LD]

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YUGOSLAVIA

WRITERS' CONGRESS REFLECTS NATIONAL DISUNITY, KOSOVO DISPUTE

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 26 Apr 85 pp 20-21

[Article by Pance Zafirovski]

[Excerpts] The writers' congress [held 18-20 April 1985 in Novi Sad] was an expression of the times in which we live with all its controversies, doubts, opposition, and disputes, all its divisions and schisms; the writers said nothing more than what has already been taken over as true.

"The writer can be the conscience of his time and his society. He has the right to doubt and to hope. As a person who believes and who doubts, he can be a creator and critic of his society." With this general and stale phraseology the text of the message begins with which the writers of Yugoslavia turn to society with their "congress of hope." This message was adopted by acclamation. [But] This fact ...cannot be interpreted as a victory of unity because unity attained on a minimum [of issues] is not unity. Let us be open: The message of the 9th Writers Congress of Yugoslavia was only an attempt at a muted synthesis of the critical dialogue and polemical clashes on the widest possible range of subjects, in which about 100 delegates and guests participated; a message formulated only in order to be adopted and to appear to reconcile that which was not reconciled....

It should be brought out that the congress represented the culmination of several months of an almost unprecedentedly wide and open dialogue between writers and society during a traumatic period,...a dialogue also with writers themselves in which they expressed their bitterness and hope....But the congress avoided a critical evaluation of current literature; only four or five participants tried to bring out the value of works written in the last 10 years between the two congresses....

Redjep Cosja, [Kosovo] academician, brought a special dimension to the discussions about artistic freedom when he said that there are two kinds of practice, thinking, and achievement of such freedom in our society. "While in other cultural centers this idea [of freedom] is based on a critical relationship toward social and moral reality which has made critical literature possible, Albanian writers in Kosovo can, on the whole, only dream about a critical relation toward social reality; while in Belgrade, let us say, the idea of artistic freedom assumes the possibility that anyone and

everyone can write about Albanian historical and cultural tradition, this does not in general correspond to the situation in Pristina. These assessments were over-ruled as blanket and inaccurate.

Cosja ignited a far harsher polemic when he said the statement made by...Miodrag Bulatovic that the driving of people from their Kosovo homeland has all the characteristics of genocide and fascism-- was untrue and the usual "Jules Verne" fantasy. Some [participants] called this [statement by Cosja] "cynicism thrown in the face of our reality," and Milan Komnenic replied: "It is the duty of all of us, not only writers but particularly writers, to question what this means, when every morning...Redjep Cosja, an Albanian writer and colleague and very outstanding intellectual of this country, can see that his Serbian neighborhood, reduced by two, three, or five people, is leaving, and where it is going. Only after such words are heard will he [Cosja] have the right to...speak about so-called 'kitsch-differentiation.'"

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YUGOSLAVIA

SOCIOLOGISTS' CONGRESS 'MORE RADICALIZED'

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 12 Apr 85 p 20

[Article by Pance Zafirovski]

[Excerpts] In the mosaic of our social reality Yugoslav sociological thought has for a long time matched up all the little stones of wisdom,... bringing out the nuances of color, in which black and gray predominate. After...the 4-6 April session in sunny Portoroz this impression remains not only unchanged, but it can be said that the well-known critical judgment [of sociologists] regarding the...[present] crisis has been radicalized. One gets the impression at the same time that the long and mutually-damaging disagreements between the sociopolitical forces and sociology (or, more precisely, part of sociology) tend to be deepening, even stimulating new disagreements and "new troubles" with sociology.

In addition to the dominant critical scientific talk,... there were also political scheming and anti-communist...lies, such as repudiation of the historical legitimacy of the LC and accusations about the "undemocratic holding of power." Under the cap of science clear oppositional alternatives were brought out.... There exists great identity of views among Yugoslav sociologists on the status of society, the most acute problems and most complex phenomena, especially the causes which have led to the crisis, but such agreement is not evident when solutions are being discussed....

The existence and deepening of the entire social crisis was discussed and it was said that the "second wave of the crisis" is evident, the end of which is difficult to see. According to some, this is not a crisis of development, as political elements like to say, but a crisis of stagnation, a structural crisis which can only be overcome by radical change and a re-structuring of society. Zoran Vidojevic spoke about ever-increasing contradictions which are assuming more and more the character of a classic conflict between production forces and production relations. It is ever more difficult to mediate between oppositional forces which are becoming destructive and blocking every desirable change in society. Especially worrying is the fact that the system has lost the ability for dialectical synthesis of differing legitimate interests. Also discussed was the growth of conflicting pressures and it was noted that there have not been larger conflicts yet because the

working class has been broken up for a long time through disintegrative processes. The number of strikes is not increasing significantly, but there are the [so-called] "white" strikes [absenteeism, work slowdown], a de-motivation of workers, and declining labor productivity, which some think should be even more disquieting. Inter-nationality conflicts are evident which are most dangerous for our society and which are simply transferred to the other arena of class and social conflicts, because in our country all interests can be expressed only according to ...nationality interests.

...The cadre policy was said to be usurped by narrow groups of "polito-crats." Especially stressed was the method of election and the [Yugoslav] method of indirect election was said to be an historical anachronism and makes possible the avoidance of democracy and responsibility. ...The draft law on social planning was called "utopian."

[In regard to solutions to the crisis], it is symptomatic that many [sociologists] do not believe in the vision offered by the LC and other socialist forces in the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization.

Instead, the return to the "universal" values of bourgeois society were offered, including a strong united state, an independent court system, elimination of the one-party system, independence of public life, a representative [electoral] system, etc. For some, socialist self-management obviously has become only a rhetorical crutch and mask concealing the real positions. Individuals even doubt that socialism can exist, also our self-management socialism,...because it is "an abortion of history," mistakenly conceived where Marx did not foresee it developing, instead of in the developed West.... There were a few [participants] who supported our socialism, but without the League of Communists. When the Sarajevo sociologist Emil Vlajki noted the illusion of seeking a way out of the crisis by replanting...bourgeois society instead of overcoming it by developing authentic self-management led by the LC as the party in the great historical sense," the speaker [Vlajki] was...prevented from further expressing his views. He was prevented by those who consider themselves the fighters for democratic dialogue....

Opposition Platform in the Guise of Science

In the speech by Vesna Pesic from Belgrade we can read that the "principle of the universal right of man to freedom of opinion and creation has never been accepted in the political documents of the LC or in the constitutional concepts regarding freedom and the rights of citizens.... According to party precepts, socialist society can be developed only through permanent struggle against freedom and democracy for all."

Miroslav Zivkovic went a step further, in his work on "Myth and Reality in Yugoslav Ideology," disputing the avant-garde role of the LC and directly accusing it of undemocratically holding power. "One of the current myths is the view that the party has separated itself from power. One only needs to look at the Constitution (Article 133) to see that the ruling political

party has secured its participation in legislative power through the sociopolitical councils.... A special indication of the desire for power and monopoly...is the segregationist phrase about 'moral-political suitability.'"

With this, science has certainly stopped being science and is becoming dangerous ideological talk filled with an oppositionist and hostile explosive charge....

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YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENIAN DRAMATIST DISCUSSES NATIONALISM, KOCBEK

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 12 Mar 85 pp 57-59

[Excerpts] During a week of Slovenian drama...three plays were presented in different areas of Yugoslavia [Belgrade, Varazdin, and Ljubljana] by Slovenian award-winning...playwright Rudi Seligo. His recent play "Ana" based on the suffering of a woman living under Stalinism and condemned to ruin in a male Stalinist world..., depicts the problem of the revolution in the 20th Century, the redemptive idea of the revolution which was supposed to give man a meaning for life and make him happier [but which] was established as a metaphysical idea...for which man became simply a means, or...the human "material" to be destroyed, if necessary, to give life to the idea.

...The climate in Slovenia is, ...of course, better today than before for the development of creative and intellectual work. Nevertheless, on the one hand we are witnesses to a big opening up, and on the other hand we hear ever-louder threats. Recently one of our politicians said that every equating of an opinion with anticommunist positions will be considered a criminal act. In such a situation it is particularly important that the Council for the Sociopolitical System in the Slovenian SAWP Presidency accepted the recent initiative by the Philosophical and Sociological Society of Slovenia [asking] that those articles concerning verbal crime be eliminated from the penal code.

[Asked how he viewed the recent Slovenian writers meeting in Ljubljana, he said] I did not attend and was not invited.... I would rather have attended the writers meeting held almost at the same time in Belgrade where the main subject was freedom of opinion. This seems to me of more importance than the never-ending statement on the question of the Slovenian nation.... by those who are in love with some eternal Slovenianism... The truth is we cannot avoid the fact that we Slovenes are tragically dispersed in four countries and we concern ourselves too little with our compatriots outside Yugoslavia. But I cannot agree with those who say we who live in Yugoslavia are [ethnically] threatened. If we are, it is not by the other peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia but rather by ourselves primarily, by our own institutions,... and bureaucracy.

[The interviewer says] "It was said at the [writers'] meeting in Ljubljana that Kocbek is stressed too much and Kardelj not enough. Considerable

polemics are being waged around Kocbek now in Slovenia. What do you think about this phenomenon?"] This is a sign of cultural and political opening up. After a full 30 years Kocbek's diaries [and other work]...are being published in NOVA REVIJA. If this is producing many different reactions, it is because up to now there has been a great silence about this, these books were not available, Kocbek was banned. Kardelj was not banned and therefore the printing of his works does not produce such curiosity and euphoria.

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24 May 1985

YUGOSLAVIA

CATHOLIC WEEKLY DISPUTES PRESS CRITICISM

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Apr 85 p 2

[Excerpt] Recently several daily and weekly newspapers in our country have published such unexpectedly sharp and unobjective articles about our church that believers have many reasons, not to surrender to justifiable bitterness, but to wonder what is in question. First, it is obvious that the journalists signing the articles...do not have even ordinary consideration for decency toward the people about whom they are writing and with whom they are settling accounts in a quite menacing way. It is also seen that many do not try to verify the alleged facts.... They act as if they had not read the numerous articles in our Catholic press or heard the sermons of our outstanding bishops and archbishops in which one could find explanations for such mistakenly-raised questions and criticism which they persistently repeat. When journalists and other public workers stop being concerned about objectivity of their facts..., this is a sign that they are not operating according to the rules of their craft but are carrying out some other task. What task and whose task? ...It is obvious that the task is not contributing to peace. When the Holy Father inspires the youth of the world not to divide themselves into blocs or ideologies, and...to oppose war and all that threatens mankind; at a time when the church in Croatia, in studying and praising the saints Cyril and Methodius, want to expand its own horizons and also extend a hand to all who truly want peace and the good of mankind in these regions, journalists in VJESNIK, BORBA, SLOBODNA DAIMACIJA, PRIMORSKE NOVICE, and others are recommending to us something which is more than outdated. The way in which they speak about our Cardinal is indecent and provocative. After so many months to continue to attack the Dalmatian bishops for some formulations in their...New Year's toast at the presidency of the Split Opstina Assembly is an unacceptable violation of all standards which we have already established at similar meetings. Finally, ...there is the astonishing invention about an alleged Ustashe flag which appeared over our youth on Palm Sunday in Rome. This is simply not true. What does it mean to persistently repeat an obvious untruth? Do our journalists not know what the NDH [Independent State of Croatia] flag looked like? The flag seen in Rome and on television is not that of any state or party.... It is not any official flag,...but ...a symbolic combination of the traditional Croatian tricolor and crest recognized by our people outside the homeland especially at church gatherings, since one wants to avoid any political manifestation.... Instead of being thankful for the effort of our missionaries...in avoiding any political manipulations in our Croatian Catholic missions throughout the world, these journalists want to politicize them in the crudest fashion and place them among the antagonists,...

CSO: 2800/312

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

HOSTILE PETITIONS--At a meeting in Budva at which citizens' petitions and complaints [throughout the country] were discussed, Sinan Hasani, member of the SFRY Presidency, said that "under the present conditions of economic and other difficulties, our society is subject also to increased pressure from various anti-self-management and anti-socialist orientations which are manifested through petitions directed to the organs and sociopolitical organizations of the federation, republics, and provinces. Last year there were 29 such petitions with 1,344 signers; most of the names were repeated from petition to petition. They request from specific organs that action be taken outside regular procedure and decisions desired by the signers be issued, regardless of the fact that there are no bases for this. There are also petitions in which the basic values of our system are disputed and concepts are offered which are opposed to socialist self-management and the nonaligned policy of our country. Most of the signers have been in conflict for a long time with the policy of the LCY and our sociopolitical system and are known as nationalists. Some of the Western press and the political emigre press monitor all such petitions." [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20-21 Apr 85 p 8]

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END